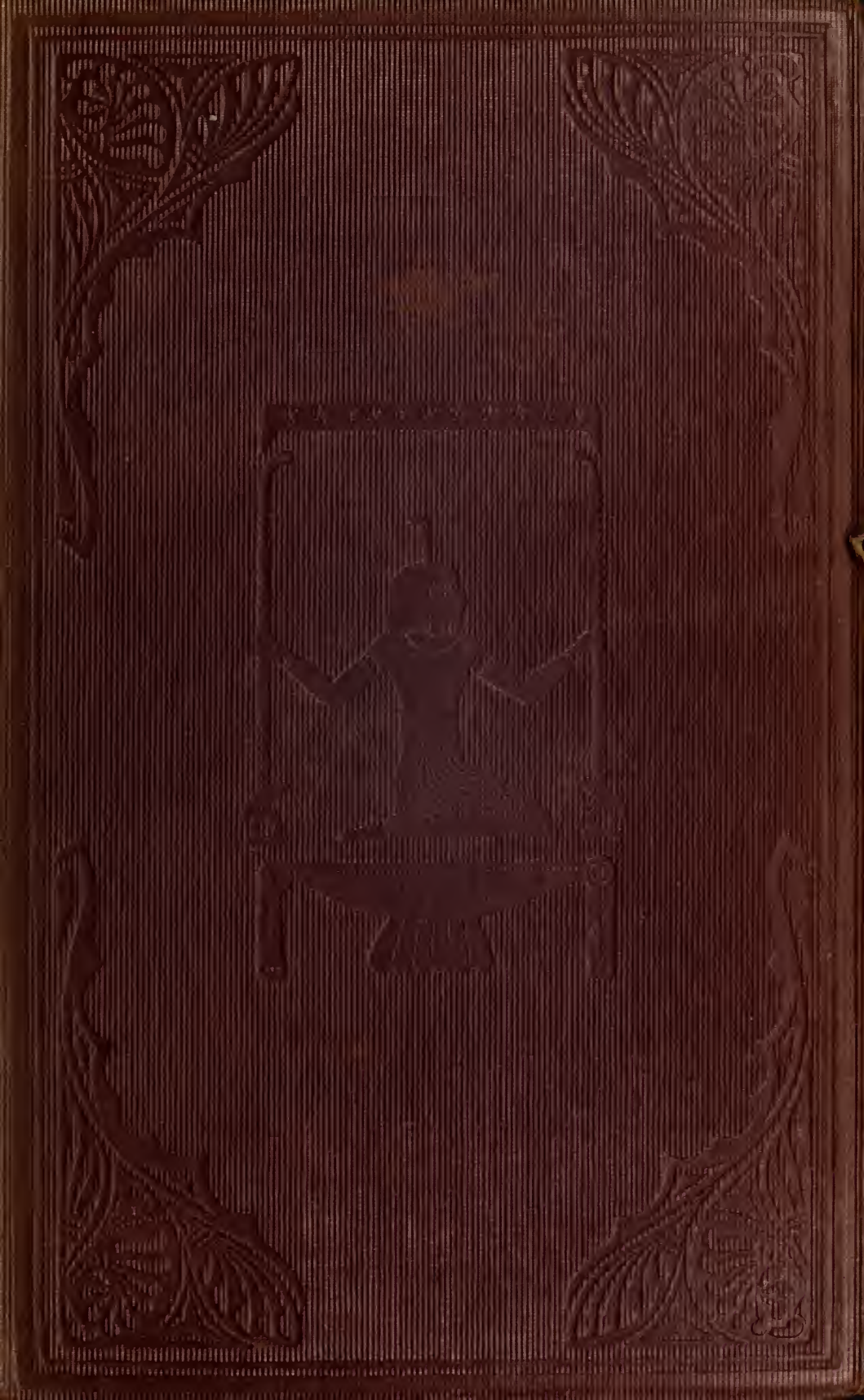

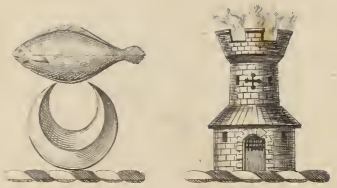

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THE

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

OF THE

ANCIENT EGYPTIANS,

INCLUDING THEIR

PRIVATE LIFE, GOVERNMENT, LAWS, ARTS, MANUFACTURES, RELIGION, AGRICULTURE, AND EARLY HISTORY;

DERIVED FROM A COMPARISON OF THE

PAINTINGS, SCULPTURES, AND MONUMENTS STILL EXISTING,

WITH THE ACCOUNTS OF ANCIENT AUTHORS.

BY

SIR GARDNER WILKINSON, F.R.S. &c.

AUTHOR OF "MODERN EGYPT, AND THEBES."

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PREFACE.

In the previous portion of this work I was under the necessity of omitting certain subjects, which, though intimately connected with the manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians, could not have been introduced without increasing it to a disproportionate size. But, in order to fulfil my original intention of giving a summary view of the most striking usages of that people, I have now put together those which were omitted in the previous volumes; and if there appears any want of connection in the agriculture and religion, it will be explained by the reason already stated. It may also occur to the reader, that I have repeated some remarks previously introduced; but this I have sometimes thought preferable to a too frequent reference to the preceding part of the work, especially when they were directly connected with the present subjects.

I have much pleasure in acknowledging the kind assistance of Mr. Burton and Mr. Pettigrew while writing the accompanying volumes, to the former of whom I am indebted for the Plates 85 and 86,

which are copied from his drawings in the tombs of Thebes.

In offering any remarks on so abstruse and mysterious a subject as the religion of the Egyptians, I must observe that my view has been rather to present the result of observations derived from the Monuments, than to suggest my own opinion respecting it; feeling persuaded that the progress of discovery in hieroglyphical literature will at length explain the doctrines of that people without the necessity of unsatisfactory and doubtful conjecture. Whatever statements I have ventured to make are open to correction, and await the sentence of more matured opinions derived from the experience of future discoveries.

Many interesting comparisons might be brought forward of the religious notions of the Greeks, Hindoos, and others, with those of the Egyptians; but a minute examination of them would lead to a lengthened disquisition, which neither the limits of this work (already too long), nor the taste of the generality of readers, would permit. Those who are interested in the subject will find their curiosity amply repaid by a reference to the valuable work of Dr. Prichard, and to the various publications which treat of the religions of other nations. They will find some striking analogies in most of them, which appear to connect them in a greater or less degree with each other; and

which, by proclaiming a common origin at a most remote period, tend, like the discoveries in language and other modern investigations, to point out the important truths of the Mosaical history of the world.

London, July, 1840.

View of the modern town of Manfaloot.

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* The two heads, of the hawk and this animal, given to one figure (in Plate 38.), may allude to the fact of Aroeris and Typho (or Ombte) being twins.

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No. 456. *a*. The name of Aroeris, Hor-Oeri. *Philæ*.

The word *oeri* signifies "beautiful," "precious," "fine," &c.; and is applied to women, valuable gifts, and monuments. It readily calls to mind the Greek word ωραιος, which is of similar import.

LIST AND EXPLANATION

OF THE

WOODCUTS AND VIGNETTES.

Device on the Cover of the Book, . . . the Ark of Neph. — The rams' heads are emblematic of that God; the sphinx of the king. The centre of the upper part is intended to represent a transverse section of the Great Hall of Assembly. (The Hall of the Assemblies or Panegyries, *infra*, Vol. II. p. 288., and Pl. 54., are in like manner sections of the central and lateral colonnades.) The column on the left is the centre avenue; that on the right is the side colonnade of lower columns, with its attic above, in which were windows, as at Karnak, the Memnonium, &c. The inner lines represent the section of the *Sekos* or sanctuary, in which are the holy emblems, with the veil partially drawn aside. This stands in a boat; and the whole having been borne by the priests by means of the staves at the side of the sledge, is placed on a table. *Vide infrà*, Vol. II. p. 271. 275.

CHAP. XI.

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1. Vignette K. Machine used as a harrow after the land is ploughed. — Heliopolis.
14. Woodcut, No. 420. The twelve Egyptian months.
32. (not numbered) The two cubits (in note).
38. No. 421. Goats treading in the seed when sown in the mud, after the retiring of the waters.
40. No. 422. Ploughing and hoeing.
42. No. 423. Yoke of an ancient plough.

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44. Woodcut, No. 424. Hoes.
46. No. 425. Hoeing, sowing, and felling trees.
47. No. 426. Ploughing, sowing, and reaping.
78. No. 427. Plants from the sculptures.
86. No. 428. Harvest scene.
87. No. 429. The *tritura*, with oxen.
88. No. 430. Song of the threshers to the oxen.
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90. No. 432. *Tritura*, and winnowing.
93. No. 433. Wheat bound in sheaves.
94. No. 434. Oxen sometimes driven round the heap, to tread out the grain.
98. No. 435. Gathering the *doora*, and wheat.
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102. No. 437. Cattle rescued from a sudden inundation.
126. No. 438. A deformed ox-herd.
128. No. 439. Giving an account of the cattle on the estate.
129. No. 440. Herdsman giving an account of the cattle.
130. No. 441. Cattle, goats, asses, and sheep, with their numbers over them.
132. No. 442. Geese brought and numbered.
135. No. 443. Modern ovens for hatching eggs.
139. No. 444. Herdsmen and poulterers treating sick animals.
140. No. 439. (repeated.)

CHAP. XII.

141. Vignette L. The two colossi of Thebes before the temple built by Amunoph III., with the ruins of Luxor in the distance, during the inundation.
232. Woodcut, No. 445. Stone representing a triad.

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235. Vignette M. Pavilion of Remeses III.
253. Woodcut, No. 446. Pthah under the form of Stability.
276. No. 447. A name probably of Buto, or of Bubastis.

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288. Woodcut, No. 448. The king, under the form of a hawk and a sphinx, to whom the God is giving "life."
292. No. 449. Figures praying, accompanied by a star.
301. No. 450. Name of Potipherah, Pet-ré.
321. No. 451. Titles of Osiris.
Ibid. No. 452. Supposed figure of Osiris in the British Museum.
349. No. 453. The bull Apis.
350. No. 454. Hieroglyphic name of Apis.
374. The square year.
384. No. 455. A Head-dress of Isis.
401. No. 456. Wooden hawk of the tombs.
404. No. 456. *a*. Name of Aroeris (omitted). *Vide suprà*, p. xxvi.

The two colossi of Thebes.

ERRATA, ADDENDA, ETC.

VOL. I.

Page 194. line 27., for " strait," read " straight."
208. note *, for " *suprà*, p. 3.," read " *suprà*, p. 148."
253. line 13., after " make," insert " Pthah was worshipped with particular honours at Memphis, and he held a distinguished post in the temples of all Egypt."
305. add, note on the name of the Phœnix, " *Vide infrà*, Vol. II. p. 228."
331. and 334., for Mellilot," read " Melilot."
324. line 1., for " Neph shows them," read " Neph and Pthah show * them." And add as note *, " At Philæ, these two Gods are moulding the clay of which Osiris was to be formed, when he visited the world in a human shape."
327. last line but 6., for " Themophoria," read " Thesmophoria."
403. cut omitted, — the name of Aroeris or Hor-oeri; put into Contents, p. xxii. (*q. v.*)
Plates 73. and 74. have been omitted, or rather transferred to another place, and numbered 24a. and 26a.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

OF THE

ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

VIGNETTE K. Machine used as a harrow after the land is ploughed. Heliopolis — Cairo in the distance.

CHAPTER XI.

Richness of Egypt. — An Agricultural and Manufacturing Country. — Origin of Mensuration and Geometry. — Astronomical Calculations connected with the Rise of the Nile. — Year of 365 *Days. — Sothic Year of* $365\frac{1}{4}$ *Days. — Flocks. — Sheep kept for their Wool. — Former Advantages of Egypt in Manufactures. — Abundance of Produce. — Land Measures. — Weights. — Irrigation. — The Inundation. — Mode of cultivating the Land. — Plough. — Hoe. — Swine and Cattle to tread in the Seed. — Sowing. — Soil of Egypt. — The Nile, its Branches. — Dressing of Lands. — Different Crops. — Cultivation of Wheat, gathering the Corn, and threshing. — Inundation. — Different Levels of Egypt. — Edge of Desert cultivated. — Harvest Home and other Festivals of the Peasants. — Care of Animals, Veterinary Art. — Eggs hatched by artificial Means.*

IN a country like Egypt, whose principal riches consist in the fruitfulness of its soil, it is reason-

able to suppose that agriculture was always one of the principal cares of the inhabitants; and a subject to which their attention was directed at the earliest period of their existence as a nation.

The richness of the valley of the Nile was proverbial; and this had no doubt induced the conquering tribe, who, as already observed *, were the ancestors of the afterwards powerful Egyptians, to migrate from Asia and settle in that fertile country; and the same continued to be an inducement to other people in later times to invade and possess themselves of Egypt.

The Pastor race, called Hycsos or Shepherd Kings, appear to have been the first to follow the example of the early Asiatic invaders; and though the period and history of their conquest are involved in obscurity, it is evident that they entered Egypt from the side of Syria, and that they obtained for some years a firm footing in the country, possessing themselves of Lower Egypt, with a portion of the Thebaïd, and perhaps advancing to Thebes itself.

I at first supposed them to have come from Assyria; but on more mature consideration have been disposed, as already stated †, to consider them a Scythian tribe, whose nomade habits accord more satisfactorily with the character of a pastor race, and whose frequent inroads at early periods into other countries show the power they possessed, as well as their love of invasion, which were continued till a late time, and afterwards imitated by their successors, the Tartar hordes of Central Asia.

* Vol. I. p. 3. † Vol. I. Introduction, p. viii.

This inroad of the shepherds was followed, after a long interval, by the successive occupations of Egypt by the Persians, the Macedonians, and the Romans; and Egypt, after having passed under the dominion of the Arabs, and at length of the Turks, still continues, in spite even of the injuries it has received from the misrule of these last, to be coveted for the richness and capabilities of its productive soil.

It is an old and true remark, that the inhabitants of a rich country are ever exposed to the aggressions of powerful neighbours, whose soil is less productive, whilst the destiny of these last is rather to be conquerors than conquered; and this has been fully proved by experience and the history of the world. We are therefore more surprised at the great duration of the power of Egypt, which, to calculate only from the reign of Osirtasen to the Persian conquest, continued without interruption through a period of twelve hundred years.

So remarkable a circumstance can only be attributed to the rigid discipline of the Egyptian constitution, and the stern regulations of the priesthood, which, by scrupulously watching over the actions of the monarch, and obliging him to conform to certain rules established for his conduct both in public and in private, prevented the demoralising effect of luxurious habits, with the baneful example of a corrupt court, and by a similar attention to the conduct of all classes, exercised a salutary influence over the whole community. And the successful promotion of industry, the skill of their

artisans, and the efficiency of their army, were owing to the same well-ordered system.

Particular attention was always given to the agricultural classes; grain was looked upon as the staple commodity of the Egyptian market, and the memorial of this was maintained to a late time, after Egypt had arrived at an unrivalled celebrity as a manufacturing country, in some of the religious ceremonies, and above all, at the festival of the coronation. Such, indeed, was the respect paid in Egypt to the pursuits of husbandry, that the soldiers, a class inferior only to the priesthood, and from which alone the king, when not of the priestly order, could be chosen, were permitted and even encouraged to occupy their leisure time in the tillage of the lands * allotted them by government; and every priest and noble of the country was expected to use his utmost endeavours to encourage the industry of the agricultural population.

Of the three states of society, the hunter, the shepherd, and the agriculturist, the last, as has been already observed †, is the most capable of arriving at and advancing in civilisation; and those countries, where agriculture is successfully encouraged, speedily rise to opulence and power. To this was Egypt indebted for its immense resources, which, even from so confined a valley, maintained a population of seven millions, supplied several neighbouring countries with corn, supported an army of 410,000 men besides auxiliaries, extended its conquests into the heart of Asia, and exercised

* Vol. I. p. 284. † Vol. I. p. 14.

for ages great moral influence throughout a large portion of Asia and Africa.

In the infancy of her existence as a nation, Egypt was contented with the pursuits of agriculture; but in process of time, the advancement of civilisation and refinement led to numerous inventions, and to improvements in the ordinary necessaries of life, and she became at length the first of nations in manufactures, and famed amongst foreigners for the excellence of her fine linen, her cotton and woollen stuffs, cabinet work, porcelain, glass, and numerous branches of industry. That Egypt should be more known abroad for her manufactures than for her agricultural skill might be reasonably expected, in consequence of the exportation of those commodities in which she excelled, and the ignorance of foreigners respecting the internal condition of a country, from which they were excluded by the jealousy of the natives; though, judging from the scanty information imparted to us by the Greeks, who in later times had opportunities of examining the valley of the Nile, it appears that we have as much reason to blame the indifference of strangers who visited the country, as the exclusiveness of the Egyptians. The Greeks, however, confessed the early advancement of the Egyptians in agricultural as well as mechanical pursuits; and Diodorus is evidently of opinion, that with colonisation, the knowledge of husbandry and various institutions were carried from Egypt into Greece.*

* Diodor. i. s. 20. 23. 28. 96. &c., and v. 58.

There are fortunately other sources of information, which explain their mode of tilling the land, collecting the harvest, and various peculiarities of their agriculture; and, independent of what may be gleaned from Herodotus and Diodorus, numerous agricultural scenes, in the tombs of Thebes and Lower Egypt, give full and amusing representations of the process of ploughing, hoeing, sowing, reaping, threshing, winnowing, and housing the grain.

In considering the state of agriculture in Egypt, we do not confine its importance to the direct and tangible benefits it annually conferred upon the people, by the improved condition of the productions of the soil; the influence it had on the manners and scientific acquirements of the people is no less obvious, and worthy our contemplation; and to the peculiar nature of the Nile, and the effects of its inundation, has been reasonably attributed the early advancement of the Egyptians in geometry and mensuration. Herodotus, Plato, Diodorus*, Strabo†, Clemens of Alexandria ‡, Iamblichus, and others, ascribe the origin of geometry to changes which annually took place from the inundation, and to the consequent necessity of adjusting the claims of each person respecting the limits of the lands; and, though Herodotus may be wrong in limiting the commencement of those observations to the reign of Sesostris, his remark tends to the same point, and confirms the general opinion that this science had its origin in Egypt.

* Diodor. i. 81.
† Strabo, xvii. p. 542.
‡ Clem. Strom i. p. 20.

It is reasonable to suppose that as the inundation subsided, much ligitation sometimes occurred between neighbours respecting the limits of their unenclosed fields; and the fall of a portion of the bank, carried away by the stream during the rise of the Nile, frequently made great alterations in the extent of land near the river side; we therefore readily perceive the necessity of determining the quantity which belonged to each individual, whether to settle disputes with a neighbour, or to ascertain the tax due to government.* But it is difficult to fix the period when the science of mensuration commenced; if we have ample proofs of its being known in the time of Joseph, this does not carry us far back into the ancient history of Egypt; and there is evidence of geometry and mathematics having already made the same progress at the earliest period of which any monuments remain, as in the later era of the Patriarch, or of the Great Remeses.

Besides the mere measurement of superficial areas, it was of paramount importance to agriculture, and to the interests of the peasant, to distribute the benefits of the inundation in due proportion to each individual, that the lands which were low might not enjoy the exclusive advantages of the fertilising water, by constantly draining it from those of a higher level. For this purpose, the necessity of ascertaining the various elevations of the country, and of constructing accurately levelled canals and dykes,

* Herodot. ii. 109.

obviously occurred to them; and if it be true, that Menes, their first king, turned the course of the Nile into a new channel he had made for it, we have a proof of their having, long before his time, arrived at considerable knowledge in this branch of science, since so great an undertaking could only have been the result of long experience.

These dykes were succeeded or accompanied by the invention of sluices, and all the mechanism appertaining to them; the regulation of the supply of water admitted into plains of various levels, the report of the exact quantity of land irrigated, the depth of the water and the time it continued upon the surface, which determined the proportionate payment of the taxes, required much scientific skill; and the prices of provisions for the ensuing year were already ascertained by the unerring prognostics of the existing inundations. This naturally led to minute observations respecting the increase of the Nile during the inundation: Nilometers, for measuring its gradual rise or fall, were constructed in various parts of Egypt, and particular persons were appointed to observe each daily change, and to proclaim the favourable or unfavourable state of this important phenomenon. On these reports depended the time chosen for opening the canals, whose mouths were closed until the river rose to a fixed height *,

* Pliny says, "Nilus ibi coloni vice fungens, evagari incipit, ut diximus, à solstitio aut nova Luna, ac primò lentè, deinde vehementius, quamdiu in Leone sol est. Mox pigrescit in Virginem transgresso, atque in Libra residet. Si duodecim cubita non excelsit fames certa est: nec minus si sedecim exsuperavit." .... "Vulgo credebatur ab

upon which occasion grand festivities were proclaimed throughout the country, in order that every person might show his sense of the great benefit vouchsafed by the Gods to the land of Egypt. The introductions of the waters of the Nile into the interior, by means of these canals, was allegorically construed into the union of Osiris and Isis; the instant of cutting away the dam of earth, which separated the bed of the canal from the Nile, was looked forward to with the utmost anxiety; and it is reasonable to suppose that many omens were consulted in order to ascertain the auspicious moment for this important ceremony.

Superstition added greatly to the zeal of a credulous people. The Deity, or presiding Genius, of the river was propitiated by suitable oblations, both during the inundation, and about the period when it was expected; and Seneca * tells us, that on a particular fête the priests threw presents, and offerings of gold into the river near Philæ, at a place called the Veins of the Nile, where they first perceived the rise of the inundation. Indeed, we may reasonably suppose that the grand and wonderful spectacle of the inundation excited in them feelings of the deepest awe for the divine power,

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ejus decessu serere solitos, mox sues impellere vestigiis semina deprimentes in madido solo, et credo antiquitus factitatum. Nunc quoque non multo graviore opera; sed tamen inarari certum est, abjecta prius semina in limo digressi amnis, hoc est, Novembri mense incipiente, postea pauci runcant, quod botanismon vocant. Reliqua pars non nisi cum falce arva visit paulo ante Calend. Aprilis: peragitur autem messis Maio, stipula nunquam cubitali." Lib. xviii. 18. The canals are now generally cut about the 10th of August.

* Seneca, Nat. Quæst. IV. ii. p. 886.

to which they were indebted for so great a blessing: and a plentiful supply of water was supposed to be the result of the favour of the Gods, as a deficiency was attributed to their displeasure, punishing the sins of an offending people.

On the inundation depended all the hopes of the peasant; it affected the revenue of the government, both by its influence on the scale of taxation, and by the greater or less profits on the exportation of grain and other produce; and it involved the comfort of all classes. For in Upper Egypt no rain fell to irrigate the land; it was a country, as ancient * writers state, which did not look for showers to advance its crops; and if, as Proclus† says, these fell in Lower Egypt, they were confined to that district, and heavy rain was a prodigy in the Thebaïd. There is, however, evidence that heavy rain did occasionally fall in the vicinity of Thebes, from the appearance of the deep ravines worn by water in the hills, about the tombs of the Kings, though probably, as now, after intervals of fifteen or twenty years; and it may be said from modern experience, that slight showers fall there about five or six times a year, in Lower Egypt much more frequently, and at Alexandria almost as often as in the South of Europe.

The result of a favourable inundation was not confined to tangible benefits; it had the greatest effect on the mind of every Egyptian by long anticipation; the happiness arising from it, as the regrets

* Mela, i. c. 9. calls Egypt "terra expers imbrium."
† Proclus in Tim. lib. i.

on the appearance of a scanty supply of water, being far more sensibly felt than in countries which depend on rain for their harvest, where future prospects not being so soon foreseen, hope continues longer; the Egyptian, on the other hand, being able to form a just estimate of his crops even before the seed is sown, or the land prepared for its reception.*

Other remarkable effects may likewise be partially attributed to the interest excited by the expectation of the rising Nile; and it is probable that the accurate observations required for fixing the seasons, and the period of the annual return of the inundation, which was found to coincide with the heliacal rising of Sothis, or the Dog-star, contributed greatly to the early study of astronomy in the valley of the Nile. The precise time when these and other calculations were first made by the Egyptians, it is impossible now to determine; but from the height of the inundation being already recorded in the reign of Mœris†, we may infer that constant observations had been made, and Nilometers constructed, even before that early period; and astronomy‡, geometry, and other sciences are said to have been known in Egypt in the time of the hierarchy which preceded the accession of their first king, Menes.

* Seneca says, "Nemo aratrorum" (in Ægypto) "adspicit cœlum;" and quotes this from Ovid, "nec pluvio supplicat herba Jovi." He adds, "Quantum crevit Nilus, tantum spei in annum est, nec computatio fallit agricolam; adeo ad mensuram fluminis respondet, quam fertilem facit Nilus; . . . . . majorque est lætitia gentibus, *quo minus terrarum suarum vident.*" Quæst. Nat. iv. 2.

† Herodot. ii. 13.

‡ Diodor. i. 16., and Clem. Alex. Strom. 6.

We cannot, however, from the authority of Diodorus and Clemens of Alexandria, venture to assert that the books of Hermes which contained the science and philosophy of Egypt, were all composed before the reign of Menes; the original work, by whomsoever it was composed, was probably very limited and imperfect, and the famous books of Hermes were doubtless compiled at different periods, in the same manner as the Jewish collection of poems received under the name of David's Psalms, though some were composed after the Babylonish captivity. Nor was Hermes, or Mercury, as I have elsewhere observed, a real personage, but a deified form of the divine intellect, which being imparted to man had enabled him to produce this effort of genius; and the only argument to be adduced respecting the high antiquity of any portion of this work is the tradition of the people, supported by the positive proof of the great mathematical skill of the Egyptians in the time of Menes, by the change he made in the course of the Nile. It may also be inferred, from their great advancement in arts and sciences at this early period, that many ages of civilisation had preceded the accession of their first monarch.

At all events, we may conclude that to agriculture and the peculiar nature of the river, the accurate method adopted by the Egyptians in the regulation of their year is to be attributed; that by the return of the seasons, so decidedly marked in Egypt, they were taught to correct those inaccuracies to which an approximate calculation was at first subject; and that the calendar, no longer

suffered to depend on the vague length of a solar revolution, was thus annually brought round to a fixed period.

It is highly probable that the Egyptians, in their infancy as a nation, divided their year into twelve lunar months*; the twenty-eight years of Osiris's reign being derived, as Plutarch observes †, from the number of days the moon takes to perform her course round the earth; and it is worthy of remark that the hieroglyphic signifying "month" was represented by the crescent of the moon, as is abundantly proved from the sculptures and the authority of Horapollo. From this we also derive another very important conclusion; that the use of hieroglyphics was of a far more remote date than is generally supposed, since they existed previous to the adoption of solar months.

The substitution of solar for lunar months was the earliest change in the Egyptian year. It was then made to consist of twelve months of thirty days each, making a total of 360 days‡: but as it was soon discovered that the seasons were disturbed, and no longer corresponded to the same months, five additional days were introduced at the end of the last month, Mesoré, in order to

* The moon's revolution round the earth is evidently the origin of this division of the year into months. The German monat signifies both moon and month, from which our own words are derived; the Greek μην and μηνη, a 'month' and the 'moon,' the Latin mensis, and the Sanscrit mâs, 'month,' mâs or mâsa, 'moon,' are from the same origin. *Vide* Plut. Tim. p. 498. Transl. Taylor.

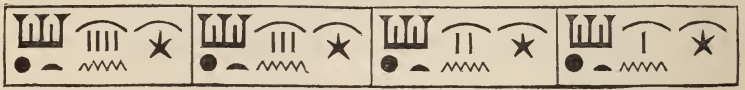
† Plut. de Is. s. 42.

‡ The 360 cups filled daily with milk at the tomb of Osiris at Philæ, appear to show that the year once consisted of 360 days. Diodor. i. 22.

remedy the previous defect in the calendar, and to insure the returns of the seasons to fixed periods.

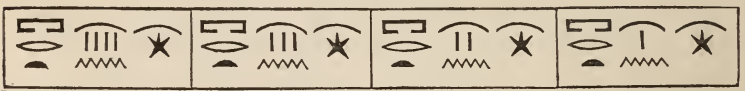
The twelve months were Thoth, Paopi, Athor, Choeak, Tobi, Mechir, Phamenoth, Pharmuthi, Pachons, Paoni, Epep, Mesoré: and the year being divided into three seasons, each period comprised four of these months. That containing the first four was styled the season of the water plants, the the next of the ploughing, and the last season was that of the waters. The 1st of Thoth, in time of Julius Cæsar, fell on the 29th of August; and Mesoré, the last month, began on the 25th of July; as may be seen in the accompanying woodcut,

No. 420. The 12 Egyptian Months.



Egyp. Name.	Choeak.	Athor.	Paopi.	Thoth.
Coptic Name.	Keeak.	Hatoor.	Babeh.	Toot.
	27 Nov.	28 Oct.	29 Sept.	began 29 Aug. O.S.

Season of the Water Plants.



Egyp. Name.	Pharmuthi.	Phamenoth.	Mechir.	Tobi.
Coptic Name.	Baramoodeh.	Baramhât.	Imsheer.	Toobeh.
	27 March.	25 Feb.	26 July.	27 Dec.

Season of Ploughing.

Egyp. Name.	Mesoré.	Epep.	Paoni.	Pachons.
Coptic Name.	Mesoree.	Ebib.	Baooneh.	Beshens.
	25 July.	25 June.	26 May.	26 April.

Season of the Waters.

where I have introduced the modern names given them by the Copts, who still use them in preference to the lunar months of the Arabs; and, indeed, the Arabs themselves are frequently guided by the Coptic months in matters relating to agriculture, particularly in Upper Egypt.

A people who gave any attention to subjects so important to their agricultural pursuits, could not long remain ignorant of the deficiency which even the intercalation of the five days left in the adjustment of the calendar; and though it required a period of 1460 years for the seasons to recede through all the twelve months, and to prove by the deficiency of a whole year the imperfection of this system, yet it would be obvious to them, in the lapse of a very few years, that a perceptible alteration had taken place in the relative position of the seasons; and the most careless observation would show, that in 120 years, having lost a whole month, or thirty days, the rise of the Nile, the time of sowing and reaping, and all the periodical occupations of the peasant, no longer coincided with the same month. They therefore added a quarter day to remedy this defect, by making every fourth year to consist of 366 days; which, though still subject to a slight error, was a sufficiently accurate approximation; and, indeed, some modern astronomers are of opinion, that instead of exceeding the solar year, the length of the sidereal, computed from one heliacal rising of the Dog-star to another, accorded exactly in that latitude (in consequence of a certain concurrence in the positions of the

heavenly bodies) with the calculation of the Egyptians.* "This sidereal or Sothic year," says Censorinus, "the Greeks term 'κυνικον,' the Latins 'canicularem,' because its commencement is taken from the rising of the Dog-star on the first day of the month called by the Egyptians Thoth †;" which, while it accords with the observations of Porphyry, that "the first day of the month is fixed in Egypt by the rising of Sothis," fully confutes the opinion of those who suppose that the name Thoth was applied to the first day alone, and not to the month itself.

That the five days, called of the Epact, were added at a most remote period, may readily be credited; and so convinced were the Egyptians of this, that they referred it to the fabulous times of their history, wrapping it up in the guise of allegory; and it is highly probable that the intercalation of the quarter day, or one day in four years, was also of very early date.

On this subject, much controversy has been expended, without, as usual on such occasions, arriving at any satisfactory result; many doubting that it was known to them before the late time of the Roman conquest, some confining it to the period of the Persian conquest, and others assigning to it the year 1322 before our era, which was the beginning of a Sothic period, when the solar year of 365 days coincided with the Sothic

* Mure's "Calendar and Zodiac of Ancient Egypt," p. 8.

† Censorin. de Die Nat. c. 13. Porphyry and Solinus say the Egyptians considered this period to commence at the beginning of the world.

of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, or which, in other words, intercalated an additional day every fourth year. For the Egyptians, finding by observation that 1460 Sothic were equal to 1461 solar years, the seasons having in that time passed through every part of the year, and returned again to the same point, established this as a standard for adjusting their calendar, under the name of the Sothic period; and though for ordinary purposes, as the dates of their Kings and other events, they continued to use the solar or vague year of 365 days, every calculation could thus be corrected, by comparing the time of this last with that of the Sothic or sidereal year. The sacred was the same as the solar or vague year; and an ancient author, cited by Jablonski*, asserts that the Egyptian Kings took an oath in the adytum that they would not intercalate any month or day, but that the sacred year of 365 days should remain as instituted in ancient times. If this be true, it argues that intercalation of the additional day was coeval with the era of the Pharaohs, since the prohibition could only have been directed against this innovation. But without pretending to give a decided opinion respecting the period of its first introduction, I may observe, that the positive testimony of Diodorus† shows it to have been in use before the Roman conquest, that historian having lived, and, as he says, "visited Egypt, under Ptolemy Neus Dionysus"‡;

* Jablonski, Panth. Egypt. lib. iv. c. 2. p. 210.
† Diodor. i. 50. ‡ Diodor. i. 44.

and the ignorance of Herodotus on the subject, who speaks* of the Egyptian year of 365 days having the effect of keeping the seasons in their proper places, is readily accounted for by the fact of the Egyptians only using this solar year for their ordinary calculations, the knowledge of the sidereal one being confined to the priests. For it is more reasonable to suppose the father of history to be mistaken in this, as he is on so many points relating to Egypt, than that so important a discovery, which had escaped them whilst their astronomical skill was at its zenith, during the flourishing period of the Pharaohs, should be made at a time when "the wisdom" of Egypt had already declined, and, above all, during the confusion consequent upon the occupation of the country by the Persians. Nor does the circumstance of the Hebrews neglecting to adopt the Sothic year argue that it was introduced subsequently to the Exodus and the age of Moses: the Arabs, who conquered Egypt long after its universal adoption, persisted and still persist in the use of their imperfect lunar months; as some Europeans are indifferent to the introduction of the Gregorian calendar; but both these are not the less known, because unadopted, and no argument can fairly be derived from similar omissions. I do not, however, assert that the Sothic year was invented before the time of Moses, and it will, probably, long remain uncertain when the Egyptians first introduced so important an innovation.

* Herodot. ii. 4.

The examination of the astronomical subjects in the tombs of the Kings and on other monuments may, perhaps some day tend to decide this question, when the complete interpretation of hieroglyphics does away with the necessity of conjecture ; in the mean time, I feel less regret in abstaining from the mention of many arguments which might be adduced to maintain the antiquity of the intercalation of the quarter day, as the learned M. Letronne has already prepared an elaborate essay on the subject, and is supported in his opinion by the authority of a Greek papyrus in the collection of the Louvre. And whilst mentioning this, I must not omit my tribute of praise to another excellent work, in which this question is treated with great candour and learning ; many valuable remarks being embodied in Mr. Mure's " Calendar and Zodiac of Ancient Egypt."

I have also introduced some remarks on the adoption of the Sothic year, in another part of this work, extracted from a previous publication in the year 1828.*

The pursuits of agriculture did not prevent the Egyptians from arriving at a remarkable pre-eminence as a manufacturing nation ; nor did they tend to discourage the skill of the grazier and the shepherd ; though the office of these last was looked down upon with contempt, and the occupation of persons engaged in manufactures and all handicraft employments was, to the soldier at least,

* *Vide infrà*, Chap. xiii., on the Goddess Isis.

ignoble and unmanly.* Large flocks and herds always formed part of the possessions of wealthy individuals; the breed of horses was a principal care of the grazier, and besides those required for the army and private use, many were sold to foreign traders who visited the country †; and the rearing of so many sheep in the Thebaïd, where mutton was unlawful food ‡, proves the object to have been to supply the wool-market with good fleeces, two of which, owing to the attention they paid to its food, were annually supplied by each animal.

That the Egyptians should successfully unite the advantages of an agricultural and a manufacturing country is not surprising, when we consider that in those early times the competition of other manufacturing countries did not interfere with their market; and though Tyre and Sidon excelled in fine linen and other productions of the loom, many branches of industry brought exclusive advantages to the Egyptian workman. Even in the flourishing days of the Phœnicians, Egypt exported linen to other countries, and she probably enjoyed at all times an entire monopoly in this, and every article she manufactured, with the caravans of the interior of Africa.

Now, indeed, the case is widely different. The population of Egypt is so reduced as not to

* *Vide suprà*, Vol. I. p. 286.
† 1 Kings, x. 28, 29.
‡ Strabo says sheep were only sacrificed in the Nitriotic nome, lib. xvii. p. 552.

suffice for the culture of the lands; an over-grown military force has drained the country of able-bodied men, who ought to be employed in promoting the wealth of the community, by increasing the produce of the soil; and a number of hands is continually withdrawn from the fields to advance manufactures, which, without benefiting the people, are inferior (especially for exportation) to those of other countries. Add to this the great cost for machinery, which is quickly injured by the quantity of fine sand that constantly clogs the wheels and other parts, causing additional mischief from the nitre with which it is impregnated; and it must be evident that modern Egypt, with a population of not one million and a half, and with the competition of European manufacturing countries, is no longer in the same position as Egypt of the Pharaohs, with upwards of four times the population, less competition, greater variety of manufactures, and no comparative local disadvantages unexperienced by their rivals.

I have attributed the early advancement of the Egyptians in land surveying, levelling, and various branches of geometry, to their great attention to the agricultural interests of the country; and as it is reasonable to suppose the knowledge they thus acquired led to many other important discoveries, we are not surprised to find them at a very early time well versed in numerous operations indicative of mathematical science and mechanical skill.

Of these the most remarkable instances occur in the construction of those ancient and magnificent

monuments, the pyramids of Geezeh (where the beauty of the masonry of the interior has not been surpassed, and I may even say has not been equalled, in any succeeding age); in the transport and erection of enormous masses of granite; and in the underground chambers excavated in the solid rock at Thebes and other places; where we admire the combined skill of the architect, the surveyor, and the mason.

The origin of these subterraneous works was derived from the custom of burying the bodies of the dead in places removed beyond the reach of the inundation, and not, as some have supposed, from the habit of living in caves, ascribed to the fabled Troglodytæ; and it is a remarkable fact, that the excavated tombs and temples bear direct evidence of having derived their character from built monuments, in the architrave reaching from column to column, which is taken from the original *beam* supporting a roof, — a feature totally inconsistent with a simple excavated chamber.

These feelings, derived from architecture, are carried still further; we find them extended to statues, which are supported from behind by an obelisk, or a stela; and the figure of a king is applied to a square pillar, both in built and excavated temples.

The abundant supply of grain and other produce gave to Egypt advantages which no other country possessed. Not only was her dense population supplied with a profusion of the necessaries of life, but the sale of the surplus conferred considerable

benefits on the peasant, in addition to the profits which thence accrued to the state; for Egypt was a granary where, from the earliest times, all people felt sure of finding a plenteous store of corn*; and some idea, as I have already had occasion to observe †, may be formed of the immense quantity produced there, from the circumstance of "seven plenteous years" affording, from the superabundance of the crops, a sufficiency of corn to supply the whole population during seven years of dearth, as well as "all countries" which sent to Egypt "to buy" it, when Pharaoh by the advice of Joseph ‡ laid up the annual surplus for that purpose.

The right of exportation, and the sale of superfluous produce to foreigners, belonged exclusively to the government, as is distinctly shown by the sale of corn to the Israelites from the royal stores, and the collection having been made by Pharaoh only; and it is probable that the landowners were in the habit of selling to government whatever quantity remained on hand, at the approach of each successive harvest. Indeed, their frugal mode of living enabled the peasants to dispose of nearly all the wheat and barley their lands produced, and they may frequently, as at the present day, have been contented with bread made of the *Doura* § flour; children, and even grown persons, according to Diodorus ||, often living on roots and esculent

* Gen. xii. 11. and xlii. 2. † Vol. I. p. 234.
‡ Gen. xli. 29. *et seq.*
§ The Holcus Sorghum.
|| Diodor. i. 80. 34. and 43., and Herodot. ii. 92.

herbs, as the papyrus, lotus, and others, either raw, toasted, or boiled. At all events, whatever may have been the quality of bread they used, it is certain that the superabundance of grain was very considerable, Egypt annually producing three, and even four, crops; and though the government obtained a large profit on the exportation of corn, and the price received from foreign merchants far exceeded that paid to the peasants, still these last derived great benefit from its sale, and the money thus circulated through the country tended to improve the condition of the agricultural classes.

EGYPTIAN MEASURES.

The Egyptian land measure was the aroura, which, according to Herodotus and Horapollo * being a square of 100 cubits, covered an area of 10,000 cubits, and, like our acre, was solely employed for measuring land. The other measures of Egypt were the schœne, equivalent † to 60 stades in length, which served, like the Greek stade, the Persian parasang, and the more modern mile, for measuring distance, or the extent of a country; and the cubit, which Herodotus considers equal to that of Samos ‡; for though the stade is often used by Greek writers in giving the measurements of monuments in Egypt, it was not really an Egyptian measure, as Herodotus plainly shows by ascribing its use to the Greeks, and the schœnus to the Egyptians. § They also

* Horapollo, Hierog. i. 5. † Herodot. ii. 6. *Vide* also *infrà*, p. 33.
‡ Herodot. ii. 168. § Herodot. ii. 6. and 149. *Vide infrà*, p. 32.

mention the plethrum in giving the length of some buildings, as the pyramids; but this was properly a Greek square measure, double the Greek aroura, and containing, according to some, 10,000 square feet, or, as others suppose, 1·444. When used as a measure of length, it was generally estimated at 100 feet; though, if Herodotus's measurement of the great pyramid be correct, it could not complete 100 of our feet, as he gives the length of each face 8 plethra. But little reliance can be placed on his measurements *, since in this he exceeds the true length; and to the face of the third pyramid he only allows 3 plethra, which, calculating the plethrum at 100 feet, is more than half a plethrum short of the real length, — each face, according to the measurement of Colonel Howard Vyse †, being 354 feet.

In former times, the difficulty of measuring the exterior dimensions of the pyramid was much less than at present; and owing to the mound of broken stone, earth, and sand, which has accumulated about the centre of each face, it is so difficult to ascertain their exact extent, that no two persons agree in their measurements; and all attempts to calculate the value of ancient measures from this monument are hopeless; as well from the inaccuracy and disagreement of Greek and Roman writers

* We may forgive Herodotus and other writers for an error in the height of the pyramid. He makes it equal to the length of the face; Strabo says the side is a little less than the height (xvii. p. 555.).

† The importance of the discoveries made by Col. Howard Vyse, at the Pyramids, can only be appreciated on referring to the valuable work he has published.

upon the subject, as from the variation of modern measurements. Of my own I shall only say, that the mode I adopted in measuring the face of the great pyramid appeared to me as little liable to error as any I could devise, which was, of ascending to the tier above the level and encumbrance of the mound of earth in the centre of the face, and measuring along that uninterrupted horizontal line, from whose end having let fall a perpendicular (easily determined by the eye) to the base, in order to ascertain the additional portion at each corner, I completed the whole measurement, by adding the bases of those two right angles. This made the total length of the present face 732 feet, agreeing to within one foot of the measurement of Mr. Lane, who gives it 733 feet: an approximation highly satisfactory, from the well-known accuracy of his observations. The total length when entire I believe to have been 755 or 756 feet, which would be exactly 440 cubits, according to the length I shall presently show to have been that of the Egyptian cubit.

I do not, however, pretend to derive (or even to require) any authority from this monument, respecting the length of the cubit; the measurements are not sufficiently accurate for this purpose, and the cubit is too small a measure to be defined by the proportionate parts of so long a line. Nor are the courts of different temples suited to guide us in so delicate a calculation; and even the small dimensions of colossi may mislead, as it is not certain (and, indeed, there are evident proofs

to the contrary) that they were measured to a decimal number of cubits. The *vocal* statue of Thebes and its companion are little more than 60 feet high (including the pedestal), which make 35 cubits; but this leads to no conclusion, because we are uncertain whether a fixed measurement was assigned to the whole statue with its pedestal, or to the figure alone, and neither this part nor the pedestal bear an exact proportion to the cubit. It is, indeed, probable that a monument of such magnitude, and of such consequence, as the pyramid was measured by a decimal number of cubits, and the exact length of its faces was doubtless divisible by such a number; but, as I have already stated, the accurate determination of its original dimensions is still a desideratum, and no conclusion can thence be formed of the length of the Egyptian cubit. Happily other data of a less questionable nature are left us for this purpose, and the graduated cubit in the Nilometer of Elephantine, and the wooden cubits discovered in Egypt, suffice to establish its length, without the necessity of uncertain hypotheses.

Some have supposed that the Egyptian cubit varied at different periods, and that it consisted at one time of 24, at another of 32 digits; or that there were two cubits of different lengths *, — one of 24 digits or 6 palms, the other of 32 digits or 8 palms, employed at the same period for different purposes. Some have maintained, with M. Girard, that the cubit

* The Jewish cubit was 1 ft. 8·24 in., or 1 ft. 9·888 in.

used in the Nilometer of Elephantine consisted of 24 digits, others that it contained 32*; and numerous calculations have been deduced from these conflicting opinions, respecting the real length of the cubit. But a few words will suffice to show the manner in which that cubit was divided, the number of its digits, and its exact length in English inches; and respecting the supposed change in the cubit used in the Nilometers of Egypt, I shall only observe, that people far more prone to innovation than the Egyptians would not readily tolerate a similar deviation from long-established custom; and it is obvious that the greatest confusion would be caused throughout the country, and that agriculture would suffer incalculable injuries, if the customary announcement of a certain number of cubits for the rise of the Nile were changed, through the introduction of a cubit of a different length. The peasant would no longer understand the quantity of water, the proportionate height of the river, or the proper time for admitting it from the canals; in short, all the system of irrigation would be deranged, and this without any result, without any advantage to compensate for this arbitrary change in the standard of measurement. Indeed, the very few alterations made by the Ptolemies, beyond the precincts of Alexandria, in the habits and customs of the Egyptians, are a strong argument against the probability of their interference in a matter of so much importance, and involving so many interests, as the change in the mode of measuring the inun-

* *Vide* Mém. de l'Acad. vol. vi. p. 105. *et seq.*

dation of the Nile; and the ancient wooden cubits found in Egypt are the same measure as the graduated scale at Elephantine. To these I now invite the attention of the reader.

The Nilometer in the island of Elephantine is a staircase between two walls descending to the Nile, on one of which is a succession of graduated scales containing one or two cubits, accompanied by inscriptions recording the rise of the river at various periods, during the rule of the Cæsars. Every cubit is divided into fourteen parts, each of 2 digits, giving 28 digits to the cubit; and the length of the cubit is 1 ft. $8\frac{5}{8}$ in., or 165 eighths, which is 1 ft. 8·625 in. to each cubit, and 0·736 in. to each digit.

The wooden cubit, published by M. Jomard, is also divided into 28 * parts or digits, and therefore accords, both in its division, and, as I shall show, very nearly in length, with the cubit of Elephantine. In this last we learn, from the inscriptions accompanying the scales, that the principal divisions were palms and digits; the cubit being 7 palms or 28 digits: and the former in like manner consisted of 7 palms or 28 digits. The ordinary division, therefore, of the cubit was,

The Cubit in the Nilometer of Elephantine.									
								Feet.	Inches.
1 digit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0·736
4	1 palm	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2·946
28	7	1 cubit	-	-	-	-	-	1	8·625

* M. Jomard represents one with 29 divisions, which he computes at a total of 0·5235 millimètres.

In the cubits of M. Jomard the divisions, or digits, commence on the left, with 1, 2, 3, and 4 digits or 1 palm; the latter indicated by a hand (sometimes with, sometimes without, a thumb): next to this is the whole hand, or 5 digits (with the thumb); then the fist, or, as the Arabs call it, the *kubdeh* (the hand closed, with the thumb erect), making 6 digits; after which may perhaps be traced the dichas, or 2 palms, of 8 digits; the *fitr*, or span with the forefinger and thumb; and the *shibr*, or spithamé, the entire span; the former of 11, the latter of 13 digits. But there is no indication of a foot, and the 15 last digits are solely occupied with fractional parts, beginning with a 16th and ending in $\frac{1}{2}$ a digit: from which we may conclude that the smallest measurement in the Egyptian scale of length was the 16th of a digit, or the 46th of an inch.

From this may be constructed the following scale and division of the Egyptian cubit: —

Parts of the Cubit.									Cubit of the Nilometer.	Cubit of Memphis according to Jomard.
									Inches English.	Inches English.
$\frac{1}{16}$ of a digit									0·04603	0·04569
16	1 digit								0·7366	0·73115
	2	1 condyle ?							1·4732	1·4623
	4	2	1 palm						2·9464	2·9247
	5	-	-	1 hand					3·6830	3·6557
	6	-	-	-	1 *kubdeh*				4·4196	4·3869
	8	-	2	-	-	1 dichas, or 2 palms			5·8928	5·8494
	11	-	-	-	-	-	1 *fitr*		8·1026	8·0428
	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 *shibr*, spithamé, or span	9·5758	9·5051
	28	-	7	-	-	-	-	- 1 cubit	20·6250	20·47291

In the foregoing table I have compared the cubit of the Nilometer, according to my measurements,

taken from that monument, and the wooden cubit found at Memphis, described by M. Jomard*, which he reckons at 520 millimètres, or 20·47291 English inches,

That in the Museum at Turin he states to be - -	$522\frac{7}{10}$ millimètres,	or 20·57869	English inches.
Another - -	523 —	or 20·61806	—
Another - -	524 —	or 20·65843	—
And he computes that of the Nilometer at -	527 —	or 20·74840	—

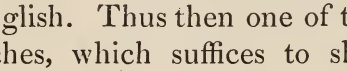
which last far exceeds my calculation.

The careless manner in which the graduation of the scales of the Nilometer at Elephantine has been made by the Egyptians, renders the precise length of its cubit difficult to determine; but as I have carefully measured all of them, and have been guided by their general length as well as by the averages of the whole, I am disposed to think my measurement as near the truth as possible; and judging from the close approximation of different wooden cubits, whose average M. Jomard estimates at 523·506 millimètres, we may conclude that they were all intended to represent the same measures, strongly arguing against the supposition of different cubits having been in use, one of 24 and others of 28 and 32 digits; and indeed, if at any time the Egyptians employed a cubit of a different length, consisting of 24 digits, it is not probable that it was used in their Nilometers, for architectural purposes, or for measuring land.

* *Vide* Jomard's E'talon métrique, and Lettre à M. Abel Remusat sur une nouvelle Mesure de Coudée.

If it really existed, the name of Royal Cubit*, inscribed on these wooden measures, was doubtless applied exclusively to that of 28 digits (which I have shown to be the usual length of the wooden measures, and of the cubit of Elephantine), and the simple cubit may have contained only 24; but there is no authority for that of 32 digits above alluded to; nor, indeed, is it at all certain that a smaller one of 24 was actually used by the Egyptians.

Since writing the above, I have received from Mr. Harris, of Alexandria, an account of a measure which has been discovered at Karnak, on the removal of some stones from one of the towers of a propylon, between which it appears to have been accidentally left by the masons, at the time of its erection, at the remote period† of the 18th Dynasty. It is divided into 14 parts, but each part is double in length those of the cubit of Elephantine, and therefore consists of 4 digits; and the whole measure is equal to 2 cubits, being $41\frac{3}{10}$ inches English. Thus then one of these contains 20·6500 inches, which suffices to show that the cubit of

*  The difference in length of these two cubits was perhaps taken from the measurement at the upper side of the arm A to B, and the under or outside from A to C, which would be a difference of about four fingers.

† These towers were erected by Horus or Amun-men? 9th King of the 18th Dynasty, who reigned from 1408 to 1395 B.C., and who used stones from older monuments, bearing the *ovals* of the King whose name occurs at Tel el Amarna (*vide* pl. 5. of my Materia Hierog. V. and W.), who had also erased the name of an Amunoph.

Elephantine was employed for ordinary purposes (differing from it only in ·0250 decimal parts), and confirms my opinion respecting the general use of one and the same measure.

This double cubit has the first division in its scale of 14 parts subdivided into halves, and the next into quarters, one of these last being equal to 1 digit.

It is highly probable that the aroura, or square land measure, was divided into poles, answering to the *ḳassobeh* (reed) now used in Egypt, by which the *feddán* is measured; and in the absence of any explanation of the ancient land measure, it may not be irrelevant to notice the mode of dividing the modern *feddán*. Till lately, it was a square of 20 *ḳeerát* (carrots), or 400 *ḳassobeh* (reeds) or rods; and each *ḳassobeh* was divided into 24 *kharoobeh* or *ḳubdeh*. But various alterations have taken place in the modern land measure of Egypt; and even supposing the ancient aroura to have been divided in a similar manner, nothing can be obtained respecting the real contents of it, beyond what we learn from Herodotus, of its being a square of 100 cubits.

There is also much uncertainty respecting the length of the stade. It is generally estimated at 600 feet or 606·875; though, from Herodotus at one time specifying "a stade of six *plethra**," it would seem that on ordinary occasions he uses another of a different length; and the proportionate value of the measures, and of the dimen-

* Herodot. ii. 149.

sions of the monuments he describes in Egypt, are far from satisfactory. Nor is the schœne accurately defined; and Strabo *, on the authority of Artemidorus, states that the length of the schœne varied among the Egyptians.

CULTIVATION OF THE LANDS.

Of the nomes, or provinces, of Egypt I have already treated †; and have shown that the nomarchs, who were similar to "the officers appointed over the land" by Pharaoh ‡, and answered to the *beys* of the present system, superintended all the agricultural regulations, established for the interests of the peasant, or connected with the claims of government. I do not believe that the government interfered directly with the peasant respecting the nature of the produce he cultivated, or that any of the vexations of later times existed under the Pharaohs. The peasants were naturally supposed to have obtained, from actual observation, the most accurate knowledge on all subjects connected with husbandry; and, as Diodorus observes §, "being from their infancy brought up to agricultural pursuits, they far excelled the husbandmen of other countries, and had become acquainted with the capabilities of the land, the mode of irrigation, the exact season for sowing and reaping, as well as all the most useful secrets connected with the harvest, which they had derived from

* Strabo, xvii. p. 553.
† Vol. II. p. 72. 75.
‡ Gen. xli. 34.
§ Diodor. i. 72.

their ancestors, and had improved by their own experience." "They rent," says the same historian, "the arable land belonging to the kings, the priests, and the military class, for a small sum, and employ their whole time in the tillage of their farms;" and the labourers who cultivated land for the rich peasant, or other landed proprietors, were superintended by the steward or owner of the estate, who had authority over them, and the power of condemning delinquents to the bastinado; and the paintings of the tombs frequently represent a person of consequence inspecting the tillage of the field, either seated in a chariot, walking, or leaning on his staff, accompanied by a favourite dog.*

Their mode of irrigation I have already noticed.† It was the same in the field of the peasant as in the garden of the villa; and the principal difference in the mode of tilling the former consisted in the use of the plough.

The water of the inundation was differently managed in various districts. This depended either on the relative levels of the adjacent lands, or on the crops they happened to be cultivating at the time. When a field lay fallow, or the last crop had been gathered, the water was permitted to overflow it as soon as its turn came to receive it from the nearest sluices; or, in those parts where the levels were low, and open to the ingress of the rising stream, as soon as the Nile arrived at a sufficient height; but when the last autumn crop was in the ground,

* Vol. II. p. 136. † Vol. II. p. 1. 137. 139.

every precaution was taken to keep the field from being inundated; and "as the water rose gradually, they were enabled," says Diodorus*, "to keep it out by means of small dams, which could be opened if required, and closed again without much trouble."

In the sculptures of the tombs are sometimes represented canals conveying the water of the inundation into the fields; and the proprietor of the estate is seen, as described by Virgil †, plying in a light painted skiff or papyrus punt, and superintending the maintenance of the dykes, or other important matters connected with the land. Boats carry the grain to the granary, or remove the flocks from the lowlands; and as the water subsides, the husbandman ploughs the soft earth with a pair of oxen, and the same subjects introduce the offering of firstfruits to the Gods, in acknowledgment of the benefits conferred by "a favourable Nile." ‡ These subjects, however, give little insight into the actual mode of laying out the canals, being rarely more than conventional pictures; though we may infer from their general character, that the main canal was usually carried to the upper or southern side of the land, and that small branches leading from it at intervals traversed the fields in straight or curving lines, according to the nature or elevation of the soil.

* Diodor. i. 36.

† Virg. Georg. iv. 289.

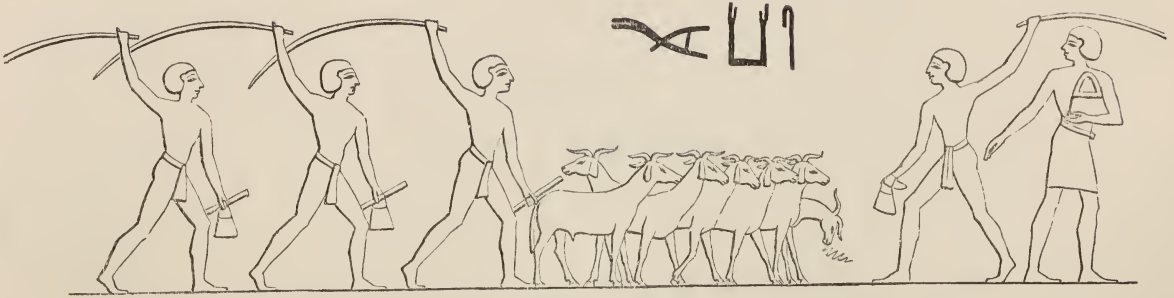
"Adcolit effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum,
Et circum pictis vehitur sua rura phaselis."

‡ This is a translation of the expression used in Egypt for a favourable inundation: where they always speak of "the time of the *Nile*," or "a good *Nile*," — meaning the *inundation*.

As the Nile subsided, the water was retained in the fields by proper embankments; and the mouths of the canals being again closed, it was prevented from returning into the falling stream. By this means the irrigation of the land was prolonged considerably, and the fertilising effects of the inundation continued until the water was absorbed. And so rapidly does the ardent sun of Egypt, even at this late period of the season, — in the months of November and December, — dry the mud when once deprived of its covering of water, that no fevers are generated, and no illness visits those villages which have been entirely surrounded by the inundation. For though some travellers pretend that the Nile ceases to rise to the same height as in the days of Herodotus, and assert that the villages no longer present the appearance he describes *, of islands resembling the Cyclades in the Ægean Sea, it is not less certain that the great inundations have precisely the effect he mentions; and I have seen the villages perfectly isolated, as in olden times. But this, as may be reasonably supposed, does not happen every year; and, as in all ages of Egyptian history, the Nile sometimes rises to a great height, and at others falls short of the same limit; and a casual observer, judging only of what he witnessed during a short stay in the country, may form too hasty an opinion, and draw conclusions which longer experience would prove to be erroneous.

As soon as the canals were closed, the quantity of

* Herodot. ii. 97.



No. 421. Sowing. *Tombs near the Pyramids.*

Fig. 4. Goats treading in the grain, when sown in the field, after the water has subsided.
6. is sprinkling the seed from the basket he holds in his left hand ; the others are driving the goats over the ground.
The hieroglyphic word above, Sk, or Skai, signifies "tillage," and is followed by the demonstrative sign, a plough.

fish collected in them afforded an abundant supply to the neighbouring villages; and, as already observed*, the advantages arising from these fisheries were of the greatest importance both to the people and the revenue.

The land being cleared of the water, and presenting in some places a surface of liquid mud, in others nearly dried by the sun and the strong N.W. winds (that continue at intervals to the end of autumn and the commencement of winter), the husbandman prepared the ground to receive the seed; which was either done by the plough and hoe, or by more simple means, according to the nature of the soil, the quality of the produce they intended to cultivate, or the time the land had remained under water. When the levels were low, and the water had continued long upon the land, they often dispensed with the plough†, and probably, like their successors, broke up the ground with hoes, or simply dragged the moist mud with bushes‡ after the seed had been thrown upon the surface; and then merely drove a number of cattle, asses, pigs, sheep, or goats into the field to tread in the grain.§

"In no country," says Herodotus||, "do they gather their seed with so little labour. They are not obliged to trace deep furrows with the plough,

* Vol. III. p. 63.

† To this, perhaps, the 10th verse of Deut. xi. refers, where mention is made of the simple process of sowing the seed in Egypt "as a garden of herbs."

‡ A sort of harrow seems to have been used as early as the time of Job (ch. xxxix. 10.).

§ Diodor. i. 36. Plin. xviii. 18. *Vide* woodcut, No. 421.

|| Herodot. ii. 14.

to break the clods, nor to partition out their fields into numerous forms, as other people do ; but when

No. 422. Ploughing and hoeing. *Beni Hassan.*

Fig. 1. breaks the clods of earth after the plough has passed.
3. The driver.
4. A barrel, probably containing the seed.
5. An attitude common to the Egyptians.
6. Another ploughman. The ancient Egyptians were evidently as fond of talking while at work as their successors.

the river of itself overflows the land, and the water retires again, they sow their fields, driving the pigs over them to tread in the seed; and this being done, every one patiently awaits the harvest."

On other occasions they used the plough, but were contented, as Diodorus* and Columella† observe, with "tracing slight furrows with light ploughs on the surface of the land;" and others followed the plough with wooden hoes‡ to break the clods of the rich and tenacious soil.

The modern Egyptians sometimes substitute for the hoe a machine §, called *khonfud*, "hedgehog," which consists of a cylinder studded with projecting iron pins, to break the clods after the land has been ploughed; but this is only used when great care is required in the tillage of the land: and they frequently dispense with the hoe; contenting themselves, also, with the same slight furrows as their predecessors, which do not exceed the depth of a few inches, measuring from the lowest part to the summit of the ridge. This mode of ploughing was called by the Romans *scarificatio*.

The ancient plough was entirely of wood, and of very simple form, like that still used in Egypt. It consisted of a share, two *handles*, and the pole or beam; which last was inserted into the lower

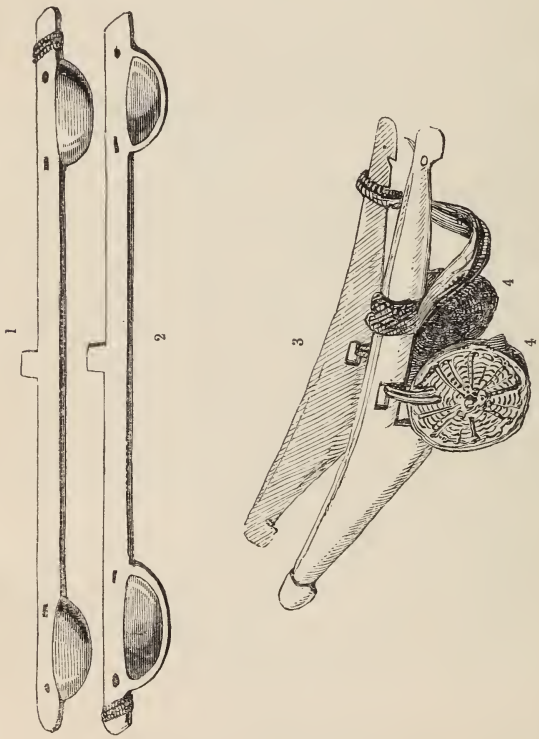
* Diodor. i. 36.

† Columella de Re Rust. ii. 25.

‡ Of this instrument, dedicated to the God of Gardens, I have given a remarkable instance in my Materia Hierog., Plate 6., and in Pl. 6. of the Pantheon, in this volume. *Vide*, also, woodcuts, No. 422. and 424.

§ *Vide* the Vignette K. at the beginning of this Chapter.

end of the stilt, or the base of the handles, and was strengthened by a rope connecting it with the heel. It had no coulter, nor were wheels applied to any Egyptian plough: but it is probable that the point was shod with a metal sock, either of bronze or iron. It was drawn by two oxen; and the plough-



No. 423. Yoke of an ancient plough found in a tomb. *Collection of S. D'Anastasy.*

Figs. 1, 2. The back and front of the yoke.
3. Collar or shoulder pieces attached to the yoke.
4, 4. The pieces of matting for protecting the two shoulders from friction.

man guided and drove them with a long goad, without the assistance of reins, which are used by the modern Egyptians. He was sometimes accom-

panied by another man, who drove the animals*, while he managed the two handles of the plough; and sometimes the whip was substituted for the more usual goad.

The mode of yoking the beasts was exceedingly simple. Across the extremity of the pole, a wooden yoke or cross bar, about fifty-five inches or five feet in length, was fastened by a strap (the ζυγοδεσμον of the Greeks), lashed backwards and forwards over a prominence (ομφαλον) projecting from the centre of the yoke, which corresponded to a similar peg, or knob, at the end of the pole; and occasionally, in addition to these, was a ring passing over them, as in some Greek chariots.† At either end of the yoke was a flat or slightly concave projection, of semi-circular form, which rested on a pad placed upon the withers of the animal; and through a hole on either side of it passed a thong for suspending the shoulder pieces, which formed the collar. These were two wooden bars, forked at about half their length, padded so as to protect the shoulder from friction, and connected at the lower end by a strong broad band passing under the throat.

Sometimes the draught, instead of being from the shoulder, was from the head, the yoke being tied to the base of the horns‡; and in religious

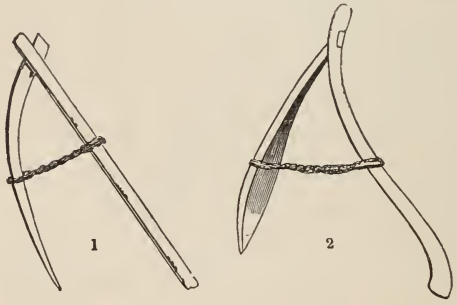
* *Vide* instances of both in woodcut, No. 123. Vol. II. p. 136.

† The parts, according to Homer, were called *ρυμος*, the pole; *ζυγος*, the yoke; *ομφαλον*, a prominence in the centre of the yoke, corresponding with a peg or knob, *εστωρ*, at the end of the pole; to which it was connected by a ring, *κρικος*, and then bound by the *ξυγοδεσμον*, or strap. Il. Ω. 268., and *suprà*, Vol. I. p. 383.

‡ *Vide suprà*, woodcut, No. 422. p. 40.

ceremonies oxen frequently drew the bier, or the sacred shrine, by a rope fastened to the upper part of the horns, without either yoke or pole.*

From a passage in Deuteronomy †, "Thou shalt not plow with an ox and an ass together," it might be inferred that the custom of yoking two different animals ‡ to the plough was common in Egypt; but since no representation of it occurs in the sculptures, we may conclude, if it ever was done there, that it was of very rare occurrence; and it is probable that the Hebrew lawgiver had in view a practice adopted by some of the people of Syria, whose country the Israelites were about to occupy, rather than the land of Egypt they had recently quitted.



No. 424. Wooden hoes.

Fig. 1. From the sculptures. Fig. 2. Found in a tomb.

The name of the plough was Ͻʜßi§; ploughed land appears to have been αρτ, a word still traced

* *Vide infrà*, the Funeral Ceremonies. † Deut. xxii. 10.

‡ I have often seen it done in Italy. The cruelty of the custom is evident, the horn of the ox wounding its companion.

§ This being the name of the capital of the Great Oasis, the plough was adopted as the hieroglyphic for that city.

in the Arabic *hart*, which has the same import; and the Greek αρητρον, and Roman *aratrum*, appear to indicate, like the αρουρα, an Egyptian origin.

The hoe was of wood, and in form not unlike our letter A, with one limb shorter than the other, and curving inwards: the longer limb, or handle, being of uniform thickness, round, and smooth; and the lower extremity of the other, or the blade, being of increased breadth, and either terminated by a sharp point, or rounded at the end. The blade was frequently inserted into the handle *, and they were bound together, about the centre, with a twisted rope. They are frequently represented in the sculptures; and several, which have been found in the tombs of Thebes, are preserved in the museums of Europe. †

The figure of the hoe in hieroglyphics is well known: its alphabetic force is an M, though the name of this instrument was in Egyptian, as in Arabic, *Toré*. It forms the commencement of the word *Mai*, "*beloved*," and enters into numerous other combinations.

I have found no instance of hoes with metal blades; nor is there evidence of the ploughshare having been sheathed with metal; though, as I have already observed, probability suggests that on some occasions the Egyptians may have adopted this simple improvement in their implements of husbandry.

The axe had a metal blade, either bronze or iron; and the peasants are sometimes represented

* *Vide* woodcut, No. 424. † *Vide suprà*, Vol. III. p. 248.

felling trees with this implement; while others are employed in hoeing the field preparatory to its

No. 425. Hoeing and sowing the land, and felling trees.' *Thebes.*

being sown, — confirming what I before observed, that the ancient, as well as the modern, Egyptians frequently dispensed with the use of the plough.

There has been some doubt respecting the admission of swine into the fields after the inundation, and considerable criticism has been expended on the statement of Herodotus above quoted.* Some have objected, that their voracious habits were more likely to injure than to benefit the cause of the husbandman, and that many other animals might be chosen for the purpose of treading in the grain, without the fear of their destroying what they were intended to preserve: but the learned Larcher very properly suggests, that muzzling them would effectually obviate this inconvenience, and that the historian may allude to their admission into the fields previous to the sowing of the grain, for the purpose of clearing the land of roots and noxious weeds, whose growth was favoured by the water of the inundation: an opinion which is strengthened by the representation of some pigs given in a previous part of this work, from a tomb

* *Suprà*, p. 39.

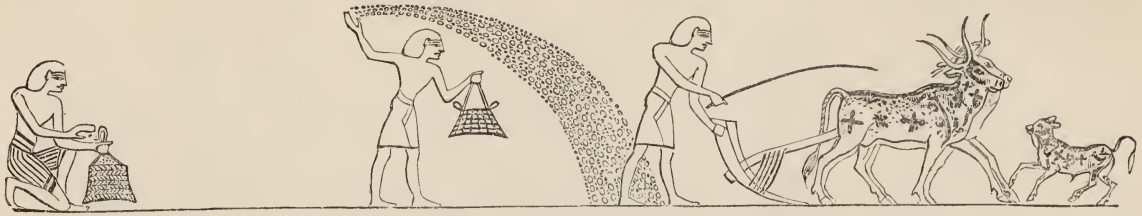
at Thebes *, where the introduction of water plants seems to indicate the use for which they were employed. Nor, indeed, considering how unclean those animals were considered by the Egyptians,—the swineherd being deemed unworthy to intermarry with other persons †, — is it likely that they were kept for any but agricultural purposes; and no one has a greater appearance of probability than that to which I have alluded.

The heat of the climate rendered the duties of the ploughman particularly arduous, and care was taken to provide a supply of water, which was sometimes kept cool by suspending the skin that held it in a tree. At Beni Hassan, a barrel is represented placed at the extremity of the furrows, which calls to mind the description given by Homer ‡ of the ploughing scene on the shield of Achilles, where, as soon as each ploughman arrived at the end of the field, a man presented him with a cup of wine; but, as already observed §, it seems more probable that it contained the grain intended for sowing the field after the plough had passed.

Like the Romans, they usually brought the seed in a basket ||, which the sower held in his left hand, or suspended on his arm, (sometimes with a strap round his neck,) while he scattered the seed with his right ¶; and, judging from the paintings of

* Vol. III. p. 34. † *Suprà*, Vol. I. p. 239.
‡ Hom. Il. E. 541. *Vide* woodcut, No. 422.
§ Vol. III. p. 182. 184.
|| The Roman basket of seed contained three pecks or modii. Colum. ii. 9.
¶ Conf. Plin. xviii. 24.

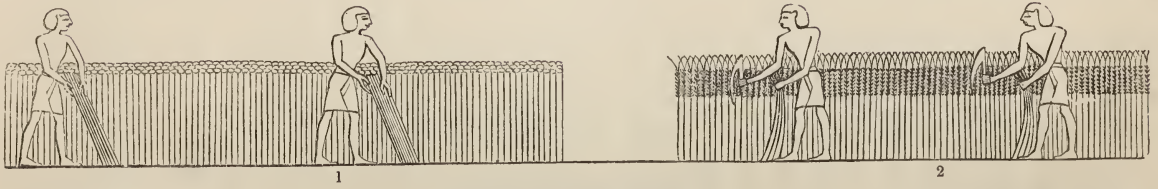
Part 1.



1 2 3

Fig. 1. puts the seed into the basket.
2. sowing the land, after the plough has passed. The handle of the plough has a peg at the side like the modern Egyptian plough, which may be seen in the Vignette K.

Part 2.



1 2

No. 426. Ploughing, sowing, and reaping. *Tombs of the Kings — Thebes.*

Fig. 1. plucking up the doora by the roots.
2. reaping wheat.

the tombs, the sower sometimes followed the plough, in those fields which required no previous preparation by the use of the hoe, or from their elevated level were free from the roots of noxious herbs. The mode of sowing was what we term broadcast, the seed being scattered loosely over the surface, whether ploughed or allowed to remain unbroken; and in no agricultural scene is there any evidence of drilling, or dibbling. Nor were the harrow* or rake known in Egypt; and the use of the spade was supplied by the hoe, as it still is throughout the valley of the Nile.

Corn, and those productions which did not stand in need of constant artificial irrigation, were sown in the open field, as in other countries: but for indigo, esculent vegetables, and herbs, which required to be frequently watered, the fields were portioned out into square beds like our salt pans, surrounded by a raised border of earth to keep in the water, which was introduced by channels from the *shadoof*, or poured in with buckets†; and it is probably to this method of sowing the land and turning the water from one square to another, by pushing aside the mud to open one and close the next with the foot, that reference is made in a passage of Deuteronomy, already noticed.‡

Sometimes, as we are informed by Pliny §, they used a dressing of nitrous soil, which was spread over

* *Vide suprà*, p. 39. note ‡.

† These square beds are represented in woodcut, No. 356. Vol. II. p. 137.

‡ Vol. II. p. 5.

§ Plin. lib. xix. c. 5.

the surface ; a custom continued to the present day : but this was confined to certain crops, and principally to those reared late in the year ; the fertilising properties of the alluvial deposit answering all the purposes of the richest manure. * Its peculiar quality is not merely indicated by its effects, but by the appearance it presents ; and so tenacious and silicious is its structure, that when left upon rock, and dried by the sun, it resembles pottery, from its brittleness and consistence. Its component parts, according to the analysis given by Regnault in the "Mémoires sur l'Egypte†," are —

11 water.
9 carbon.
6 oxide of iron.
4 silica.
4 carbonate of magnesia.
18 carbonate of lime.
48 alumen.

100

the quantity of silica and alumen varying according to the places whence the mud is taken, which frequently contains a great admixture of sand near the banks, and a larger proportion of argillaceous matter at a distance from the river.

The same quality of soil and alluvial deposit seems to accompany the Nile in its course from Abyssinia to the Mediterranean ; and though the

* Conf. Plin. xviii. 18. "Nilus ibi coloni vice fungens." Macrobius attributes the use of manure to Saturn. Lib. i. c. 7.

† Tome i. p. 351.

White River is the principal stream, being much broader, bringing a larger supply of water, and probably coming from a greater distance than the Blue River, or Abyssinian branch, which rises a little beyond the lake Dembea, still this last claims the merit of possessing the real peculiarities of the Nile, and of supplying those fertilising properties which mark its course to the sea. The White River, or western branch, likewise overflows its banks, but no rich mud accompanies its inundation; and though, from the force of its stream (which brings down numbers of large fish and shells at the commencement of its rise, probably from passing through some large lakes), there is evidence of its being supplied by an abundance of heavy rain, we may conclude that the nature of the mountains at its source differs considerably from that of the Abyssinian ranges.

Besides the admixture of nitrous earth, the Egyptians made use of other kinds of dressing for certain produce; and in those places where the vine was cultivated on alluvial soil, we may conclude they found the addition of gravel beneficial to that valuable plant, — a secret readily learnt from its thriving condition, and the superior quality of the grape in stony soils; and some produce was improved by a mixture of sand. Nor were they neglectful of the advantages offered by the edge of the desert for the growth of certain plants, which, being composed of clay and sand, was peculiarly adapted to such as required a light soil; and the cultivation of this additional tract,

which only stood in need of proper irrigation to become highly productive, had the advantage of increasing considerably the extent of the arable land of Egypt. In many places, we still find evidence of its having been tilled by the ancient inhabitants, even to the late time of the Roman empire ; and in some parts of the Fyoom, the vestiges of beds and channels for irrigation, as well as the roots of vines, are found in sites lying far above the level of the rest of the country.

The occupation of the husbandman depended

English Name.	Botanical Name.
Wheat	Triticum sativum. (Arab. *Ḳumh.*)
Barley	Hordeum vulgare. (Arab. *Shayéer.*)
Beans	Vicia faba. (Arab. *Fool.*)
Peas ?	Pisum arvense. (Arab. *Bisilleh.*)
Lentils	Ervum lens. (Arab. *Ads.*)
Vetches	(Hommos) Cicer arietinum. (Arab. *Hommos.*)
Lupins	Lupinus Termis. (Arab. *Termus.*)
Clover	Trifolium Alexandrinum. (Arab. *Bersím.*)
	Trigonella fœnum-græcum. (Arab. *Helbeh.*)
	Lathyrus sativus. (Arab. *Gilbán.*)
A sort of French Bean	Dolichos lubia. (Arab. *Loobieh.*)

much on the produce he had determined on rearing. Those who solely cultivated corn, had little more to do than to await the time of harvest; but many crops required constant attention, and some stood in need of frequent artificial irrigation.

In order to give a general notion of the quality of the crops, and other peculiarities relating to their agriculture, I shall introduce the principal productions of Egypt in the two following tables; of which the first presents those raised after the retirement of the inundation: —

Remarks.
Sown in November; reaped in beginning of April, a month later than barley; conf. Exod. ix. 32.
Sown at same time; reaped, some in 90 days, some in the 4th month.*
Sown in October or November; cut in about 4 months.
Sown in the middle of November; ripen in 90 or 100 days.
Sown in the middle or end of November; ripen in 100 or 110 days.
Id. Called Θαρμος in Coptic, which is still retained in the modern Arabic name Termus.
Sown in beginning of October; first crop after 60 days, second after 50 more days, third left for seed; if a fourth crop is raised by irrigation, it produces no seed.
The Helbeh, or Trigonella fœnum-græcum, sown in November; cut in about 2 months.
Lathyrus sativus, a substitute for clover, gathered in 60 days; seed ripens in 110.
Sown at same time as wheat in November, ripens in 4 months. A crop raised by the *Shadoof* in August, gathered in about 3 months; its beans for cooking in 60 days.

* Pliny says in the sixth, and wheat in the seventh, month after sowing. xviii. 7.

English Name.	Botanical Name.
Safflower - - -	Carthamus tinctorius. (Arab. *Kortum.*)
Lettuce - - -	Lactuca sativa. (Arab. *Khus.*)
Flax - - -	Linum usitatissimum. (Arab. *Kettán.*)
Coleseed - -	Brassica oleifera. (Arab. *Selgam.*)
Hemp? - - -	Cannabis sativa. (Arab. *Hasheésh.*)
Cummin - - -	Cuminum Cyminum. (Arab. *Kammoon.*)
Coriander - - -	Coriandrum sativum. (Arab. *Ḳoosbera.*)
Poppy - - -	Papaver somniferum. (Arab. *Aboonôm.*)
Water Melon, and several other Cucurbitæ.	Cucurbita citrullus. (Arab. *Batéekh.*)
Cucumber, and other Cucumis.	Cucumis sativus.
Doora. - - -	Holcus Sorghum. (Arab. *Doora Sayfee.*)

All these, the ordinary productions of modern Egypt, appear to have been known to and cultivated by the ancient inhabitants: and according to Dioscorides, from the *Helbeh*, or Trigonella, was made the ointment, called by Athenæus* 'Telinon.' The Carthamus tinctorius is now proved, by the discovery of its seeds in a tomb at Thebes, to have been an old Egyptian plant; and there is reason to believe the coleseed to be an indigenous production, though it may be doubted if peas and hemp were formerly grown in the valley of the Nile.

The Carthamus was not only cultivated for the

* Athen. lib. v. p. 195.

Remarks.
The flowers used for dyeing: the seeds giving an oil. Sown middle of November; seeds ripen in 5 months.
Cultivated for oil. Sown in middle of November; seeds ripen in 5 months.
Sown middle of November; plucked in 110 days.
Yields an oil. Sown middle of November; cut in 110 days.
Sown middle of December; cut in 4 months.
Sown end of November; seeds ripen in April. The Arabic name signifies father (of) sleep.
Sown middle of December; cut in 90 days.
Cut in 60 days.
Independent of the crop raised by the *Shadoof*, and that *during* the inundation; sown middle of November; ripens in $5\frac{1}{2}$ months.

dye its flower produced, but for the oil extracted from its seeds. The ancient, as well as the modern Egyptians, also obtained oil from other plants, as the olive, *simsim* or sesamum, the *cici* or castor-berry tree, lettuce, flax, and *selgam* or coleseed. This last, the Brassica oleifera of Linnæus, appears to be the Egyptian *raphanus* mentioned by Pliny *, as "celebrated for the abundance of its oil," unless he alludes to the *seemga*, or Raphanus oleifer of Linnæus, which is now only grown in Nubia and the vicinity of the first cataract. The seeds of the *simsim* also afforded an excellent oil, and they were

* Plin. xix. 5., and xv. 7.

probably used, as at the present day, in making a peculiar kind of cake, called by the Arabs, *Ḳoosbeh*, which is the name it bears when the oil has been previously extracted.* When only *bruised* in the mill, and still containing the oil, it is called *Taheéneh;* and the unbruised seeds are strewed upon cakes, or give their name and flavour to a coarse conserve, called *Halowẽh simsemeéh*. The oil of *simsim* (called *seerig*) is considered the best lamp oil of the country; it is also used for cooking, but is reckoned inferior in flavour to that of the lettuce.†

The castor-berry tree is called by Herodotus‡ Sillicyprion, and the oil kiki (*cici*), which he says is not inferior to that of the olive for lamps, though it has the disadvantage of a strong unpleasant smell. Pliny§ calls the tree *cici*, which, he adds, "grows abundantly in Egypt, and has also the names of croton, trixis, tree sesamum, and ricinus." The mode he mentions of extracting the oil by putting the seeds into water over a fire, and skimming the surface, is the manner now adopted in Egypt; though he says the ancient Egyptians merely pressed them after sprinkling them with salt. The press, indeed, is employed for this purpose at the present day, when the oil is only wanted for lamps‖; but by

* Plin. xviii. 10.

† Pliny shows it was inferior to the oil of the cypros, since they were in the habit of "adulterating the cyprine with the sesamine oil." xiii. 1.

‡ Herodot. ii. 94.

§ Plin. xv. 7.

‖ Pliny evidently had an aversion to castor oil, in which he cannot be considered singular. He calls it "cibis fœdum, lucernis utile." Conf. Strabo, xvii. p. 566.

the other method it is more pure, and the coarser qualities not being extracted, it is better suited for medicinal purposes. Strabo says, "Almost all the natives of Egypt used its oil for lamps, and workmen, as well as all the poorer classes, both men and women, anointed themselves with it," giving it the same name, *kiki*, as Pliny, which he does not confine, like Herodotus, to the oil: and of all those by which it was formerly known in Egypt or Greece, no one is retained by the modern Egyptians. It grows in every part of Upper and Lower Egypt; but the oil is now little used, in consequence of the extensive culture of the lettuce, the coleseed, the olive, the carthamus, and the *simsim*, which afford a better quality for burning: it is, therefore, seldom employed except for the purpose of adulterating the lettuce and other oils; and the Ricinus is rarely cultivated in any part of the country.

Herodotus tells us the ancient Egyptians adopted both methods, of pressing and boiling the seeds, which is much more probable than the statement of Pliny; the choice of the two depending, as I have observed, on the quality of the oil they required. "The cnicon, a plant unknown in Italy, according to Pliny *, was sown in Egypt for the sake of the oil its seeds afforded;" the chorticon, urtica, and amaracus † were cultivated for the same purpose ‡, and the cypros, "a tree resembling the ziziphus in its foliage, with seeds like the coriander, was noted in Egypt, particularly on the Canopic branch

* Plin. xxi. 15.
† Plin. xxi. 11. 22.
‡ Plin. xv. 7., and xxii. 13.

of the Nile, for the excellence of its oil."* Egypt was also famed for its "oil of bitter almonds†;" and many other vegetable productions were encouraged for the sake of their oil, for making ointments, or for medicinal purposes.‡

In the length of time each crop took to come to maturity, and the exact period when the seed was put into the ground, much, of course, depended on the duration of the inundation, the state of the soil, and other circumstances; and in the two accompanying tables I have been guided by observations made on the crops of modern Egypt, which, as may be supposed, differ in few or no particulars from those of former days; the causes that influence them being permanent and unvarying.

"The plants of the summer season," as I have

English Name.	Botanical Name.
Rice‖	Oryza sativa. (Arab. *Rooz* or *Aroos*.)
Doora	Holcus Sorghum. (Arab. *Doora Ḳaydee*.)

* Plin. xii. 24., xiii. 1., and xxiii. 4. Athen. xv. p. 688.

† Plin. xiii. 1.

‡ *Vide suprà*, Vol. II. p. 214., and Vol. III. p. 378. In the former place, I have mentioned some ointment preserved in a vase at Alnwick Castle, upon which I have lately received some observations by Dr. Ure, who says, "In consistence, this unguent is intermediate between tallow and hog's lard. It has an orange yellow colour. Its specific gravity is 0·991; and this density would seem to indicate the presence of rosin. It gives a greasy stain on paper, not removable by heat. It is soluble in hot oil of turpentine and in hot alcohol, but it precipitates from the latter in the cold. From these results I am of opinion, that it is of the nature of a fixed fat, which may have been flavoured with an essence or volatile oil; but it does not belong to the class of stearopteries, like otto of rose, or the precious oriental perfumes." I may also here introduce

elsewhere observed §, "which succeed the above mentioned, either immediately or after a short interval, are produced solely by artificial irrigation." "But the use of the *shadoof* is not confined to the productions of summer; it is required for some in spring, and frequently throughout the winter, as well as in autumn, if the inundation be deficient;" and the same system was, of course, adopted by the ancient Egyptians.

The chief productions sown the half year before, and during the inundation, are enumerated in the table eblow.

Herbs and esculent roots were cultivated in great abundance by the Egyptians; experience having taught them, that a vegetable diet was highly conducive to health in their climate; and the sculptures, the authority of Pliny ¶, the fact of

Remarks.
Cut in 7 months: in October. Grown in the Delta.
Sown in beginning or end of April; cut at rise of Nile in 100 days. Its seed sown as Byoód.

the analysis which Dr. Ure has favoured me with of a bronze chisel, alluded to in Vol. III. p. 252.

Of 100 parts,	94·0 are copper.
	5·9 tin.
	0·1 iron.
	100·0

§ Topography of Thebes and General View of Egypt, p. 263.

‖ It is not certain that rice was cultivated formerly in Egypt.

¶ Conf. Plin. xxi. 15. "Herbæ sponte nascentes, quibus pleræque gentium utuntur in cibis, maximeque Ægyptus, ... tanta est ciborum ex herbis abundantia."

English Name	Botanical Name.
Byoód or autumn *Doora* -	Holcus Sorghum. (Arab. *D. Byoód,* or *Dimeéree.*
Yellow Doora - -	Id. (Arab. *D. Saffra.*)
Millet - - - -	Holcus saccharatus. (Arab. *Dokhn.*)
Cotton - - -	Gossypium herbaceum. (Arab. *Ḳoton.*)
Simsim, Sesame - -	Sesamum orientale. (Arab. *Simsim.*)
Indigo - - -	Indigofera argentea. (Arab. *Néeleh.*)
Henneh - - -	Lawsonia spinosa et inermis.
Water Melon - -	And other Cucurbitæ. (Arab. *Bateekh,* &c.)
Onion (Leek, and Garlic) -	Allium Cepa, &c. (Arab. *Bussal.*)
Bámia - - -	Hibiscus esculentus, or perhaps only the H. præcox.

four thousand persons being engaged in selling vegetables at Alexandria when that place was taken by Amer, and the habits of the people at the present day, show how partial they always were to their use. The same may be remarked of the Italians; and it is a curious fact, that several Roman families of note received their names from the cultivation of certain pulse.†

* Pliny says, "All kinds of pulse appear above the ground, in Egypt, on the third day." xviii. 7.

† As the Lentuli, Fabii, Pisones.

Remarks.
Sown middle of August; cut in 4 months; but its seed, no longer prolific, is all used for bread.
Sown when the Nile is at its height, in middle of August, and banked up from the inundation: ripens in 120 days.
Only in Nubia and the Oases: sown at same time as the Doora.
Planted in March, and summer. In good soil, some is gathered the 5th month.
Gives an oil. Ripens in about 100 days. Sown 10 days after the Doora Byoód.
Sown in April: the first crop in 70 days; second in 40; third in 30; fourth in 25, in the first year: it is then left without water all the winter, and watered again in March. Then the first crop is cut after 40 days; second in 30; third in 30; and the same in the third year. After three years it is renewed from seed. The first year's crop is the best.
Used for the dye of its leaves.
During the rise of the Nile, and in March, on the sandbanks of the river.
Sown in August.
Mostly in gardens. Gathered in 50 or 60 days, in September and October. Many other vegetables were raised at different seasons, by artificial irrigation.*

Having, in the preceding tables, shown the seasons when the principal productions of Egypt were raised, I proceed to enumerate those which appear from good authority to have been grown by the ancient Egyptians. Wheat[1], barley[1], *doora*[2], peas[3]?, beans[4], lentils[5], *hommos*[6], *gilbán*[7]?, cartha-

1 Exod. ix. 31, 32., and the seed found in the tombs.
2 The seeds found in the tombs.
3 Said to be found in the tombs.
4 Herodot. ii. 37. Diodor. i. 89. Plin. xviii. 12.
5 Virg. Georg. i. 228. Plin. xviii. 12. "Duo genera ejus in Egypto." Plut. de Is. s. 68. Aul. Gell. xvii. 8., and in the tombs.
6 Cicer arietinum.
7 Lathyrus sativus.

mus[8], lupins[8], *bamia*[9], *figl*[10], *simsim*[11], indigo[12], sinapis or mustard[13], origanum[14], succory[15], flax[16], cotton[17], cassia senna[18], colocinth[19], cummin[20], coriander[21], several Cucurbitæ, "cucumbers, melons, leeks, onions, garlic[22]," lotus[23], nelumbium[24], cyperus esculentus[25], papyrus[26], and other Cyperi[27], are proved to have been cultivated by them; and the learned Kircher[28] mentions many productions

8 Found in the tombs.

9 Hibiscus esculentus.

10 Raphanus sativus, var. edulis, of Linnæus. Herodot. ii. 125. Plin. xv. 7., and xix. 5.

11 Plin. xv. 7.

12 Cloths found dyed with it.

13 Plin. xix. 8. "Semen (sinapis) optimum Ægyptium."

14 Plin. xix. 8.

15 Plin. xix. 8., xx. 8., and xxi. 15. Cichorium intybus, Linn. Pliny calls it "Erraticum intubum."

16 Exod. ix. 31. &c.

17 Plin. xix. 1. &c.

18 An indigenous plant, called by the Arabs *Senna mekkeh:* the best is brought from Ethiopia and the interior of Africa.

19 An indigenous plant.

20 Plin. xx. 15. Seeds used on bread in Egypt, as at the present day. Plin. xix. 8.

21 Plin. xx. 20. In Numbers, xi. 7., the manna was compared to coriander seed, which the Israelites had seen in Egypt. The name of Manna, properly men or min, signifies "what:" for "when the children of Israel saw it, they said to one another, '*What* (is) this?' (it is *manna*) for they wist not *what* it was." Exod. xvi. 15. "And the house of Israel called the name thereof *what* (*manna*)." Ver. 31.

22 Numbers, xi. 5.

23 Buds found in the tombs. Herodot. ii. 92. &c. Plin. xiii. 7.

24 Herodot. ii. 92. It now only grows in India. It is called by Pliny Colocasia as well as Cyamon. (xxi. 15.)

25 The seeds found in the tombs.

26 Plin. xiii. 11. Herodot. ii. 92. Isaiah, xix. 7., and found dried in the tombs.

27 Indigenous. *Vide* Plin. xxi. 18.

28 *Antiamas*, or minor Centaurea. *Asout*, or Plantago major. *Menê*, or Satyrion, called Panion. *Ortebioké*, or *Ophitebioca*, Pentaphyllum. *Nemenestphe*, or *Nesphe*, Chamæpythys. *Anesen*, or Artemisia. *Sapht*, or Hyoscyamus. *Sephseph*, or *Sophosph*, (Arab. *Zarawend*,) Aristolochia? *Linn.* *Semmeôri*, or *Samur*, Chamælea. *Eminion*, or *Asclepias*, probably the *Osher*, or Asclepias gigantea. *Pemptempht*, Verbena?. *Antouerm'bous*, Lingua bovis, (*Lissan-e'tor*,) Borrago officinalis? *Linn.*

of the country, principally on the authority of Apuleius, and early Arab writers. But the greater part of these last are wild plants: and, indeed, if all the indigenous productions of Egypt (which unquestionably grew there in ancient as well as modern times) were enumerated, a large catalogue might be collected, those of the desert alone amounting to nearly 250 species. For though the Egyptian Herbarium is limited to about 1300, the indigenous plants constitute a large proportion of that number, and few countries have a smaller quantity introduced from abroad than Egypt, which, except in a few instances, has remained contented with the herbs and trees of its own soil; and the plants of the desert may be considered altogether indigenous, without, I believe, one single exception. It is true, as I have observed, that these last belong to ancient as well as modern Egypt, but I do not think it necessary to enter into any description of them in the present work; and shall content myself with a brief enumeration of those mentioned by Pliny, together with the most

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Asteropé, or Marrubium, or Prasion (*Phraseeon*,) Marrubium Alyssum, *Linn.* *Sulétho*, or Squill, Scilla maritima, (*Bussal el far*). *Semet*, or Nasturtium?. *Taborin*, (Chamomile,) (Arab. *Babooneg*,) Santolina fragrantissima, *Forsk.* *Stempht*, (Sanguinaria,) Polygonum. *Palalia*, or Cyclaminus. *Ethôoui*, or Venus's Hair, Adianthum Capillus Veneris, *Linn.* *Nisine*, or Heliotrope. *Menipht*, or Dictamnus. *Lotometra*, or Lotus, Nymphæa Lotus, *Linn.* *Soumonas*, or Mint, (*Naanaa*,) Mentha Kahirina, *Forsk.* *Somi*, or Absynthium Marinum, or Seriphium. *Aphlophoi*, or Mercurialis Herba. *Thódôn*, or *Bryonia*, Vitis alba. *Phepre*, or Scolopendra. *Agathosdemon*, or Cyclaminus. *Pantagatha*, or Origanum. *Aiméôs*, or wild Myrtle. *Dentorobon*, or Coscuta. *Motmoutin*, or Portulaca, (Oleracea?). *Iratória*, or Betonica. *Ocheôn*, or Coriander. *Anysi*, or Salvia. *Vide* Kircher, Prod. et Lex. Sup. c. 8., and Œdipus.

striking characteristics or properties he ascribes to them. I have arranged them in the order in which they are given by the naturalist, not according to their botanical classification, some being un-

Name from Pliny.	lib.	c.	Botanical Name.
A plant producing ladanum.	12.	17.	Cistus ladaniferus.
Tree producing Myrobalanum, Myrobalanus	12. 23.	21. 5.	Moringa aptera? * (Arab. *Yessur*, fruct. *Hab-ghálee.*)
Palma † called Adipsos.	12.	22.	——————?
Sphagnos, Bryon, or Sphacos	12. 24. 13.	23. 28. 6. 1.	Parmelia parietina? (Arab. *Shegeret e'neddeh.*)
Cypros	12. 13. 23.	24. 1. 4.	Lawsonia spinosa et inermis. (Arab. *Henneh.*)
Maron	12.	24.	Teucrium Iva? (Arab. *Miskeh?*)
(——————)	12.	25.	Amyris Opobalsamum. (Arab. *Belisán.*)
Elate (Abies?), Palma, or Spathe	12. 23.	28. 5.	——————?
Amygdalus, Almond	13.	1.	Amygdalus communis. (Arab. *Lôz.*)
Palma, Palm	13.	4.	Phœnix dactylifera. (Arab. *Nakhl.*)
Myxa	13.	5.	Cordia Myxa, Sebestena domestica, *Alpin.* (Arab. *Mokhâyt.*)
Ficus Ægyptia	13. 23.	7. 7.	Ficus Sycomorus. (Arab. *Gimmayz.*)
(*Ceraunia siliqua*)	13.	8.	Ceratonia Siliqua. (Arab. *Kharoob.*)

* There appears more reason to suppose it the moringa than the Balanites Ægyptiaca, or Myrobalanus Chebulus (Arab. arbor, *Eglèeg*, fruct. *Lalôb*). They both grow in the Egyptian desert. The former is called Yessur: the seeds, contained in a long pod, are called Hab-ghâli. This and the Balanites are very different; but Pliny's description is very indefinite, and might apply to one or the other. Theophrastus and Dioscorides neither agree with each other, nor with Pliny.

known; and in assigning the botanical names, I have received much assistance from the Paris edition of Pliny, by M. Desfontaines, from whom I have in few instances found reason to dissent.

Remarks.

"The plants which produce ladanum, introduced into Egypt by the Ptolemies." *Plin.*
"Producing a fruit from which an oil or ointment was extracted. Growing in the Thebaïd." *Plin.*

"Gathered before ripe: that which is left is called Phœnicobalanus, and is intoxicating." *Plin.*
"Said to grow in Egypt." *Plin.* A sort of lichen growing on trees. Oil extracted from it. *Plin.* 13. 1.

"Bearing leaves like the Zizyphus. Cooked in oil to make the ointment called Cyprus. The best grown about Canopus. Leaves dye the hair." *Plin.*
There are four or five other species of Teucrium in Egypt.

Balsam in Egypt, according to Dioscorides and Strabo, till lately cultivated at Heliopolis.
"Of use for ointments." *Plin.* It is supposed to be the sheath of the palm flowers. *Vide Dioscor.* 1. 150. (Arab. *Sabát*, conf. *Spathe.*)
"Oil of bitter almonds made in Egypt." *Plin.*

"*Vide suprà*, Vol. II. p. 176. "Thebaïc palms." *Plin.* 23. 4.

"Wine made from the fruit in Egypt." *Plin.*

"Fruit growing on the stem itself." *Plin.* and *Athen. Deipn.* ii. p. 51.

(Locust tree, or *Kharoób*, said by Pliny *not* to grow in Egypt. It is now an Egyptian tree.)

† Pliny appears to mention two trees which produced myrobalanum, the myrobalanus, and the "palma quæ fert myrobalanum." (Lib. xxiii. 5.) The fruit of this last being without any stone, "nullo intus ligno," or "ossa non habens," was owing to their gathering it when young. When full grown, it was called Phœnico-balanus.

Name from Pliny.	lib.	c.	Botanical Name.
Persica or Peach*	13.	9.	Amygdalus Persica. (Arab. *Khokh.*)
	15.	13.	Cucifera Thebaïca. (Arab. *Dôm.*)
Cuci	13.	9.	
Spina Ægyptia, the Acanthus of Herodotus and Strabo	13.	9. 11.	Mimosa Nilotica. (Arab. *Sont.*)
	24.	11. 12.	
Quercus†, Oak	13.	9.	Quercus ———
(Perséa)	13.	9.	Balanites Ægyptiaca. (Arab. *Egléeg.* fruct. *Lalób.*)
Oliva, Olive	13.	9.	Olea Europæa. (Arab. *Zaytoón.*)
	15.	3.	
Prunus Ægyptia	13.	10.	Rhamnus ‡ Spina Christi or R. Nabeca, Forsk. (Arab. *Nebk.*)
Papyrus or Biblus	13.	11. 12.	Cyperus papyrus. (Arab. *Berdi?*)
	24.	11.	
Lotus	13.§	17.	Nymphæa Lotus. (Arab. *Beshnín.*)
	24.	2.	
Punicum malum or Granatum, Pomegranate.	13.	19.	Punica Granatum. (Arab. *Roomán.*)

* Pliny appears to have confounded the Peach and Persea together in lib. xii. 9. In lib. xv. 13. he is evidently speaking of the peach.

† In this sentence, "Circa Thebas hæc (spina) ubi et quercus, et Persica et oliva," on the authority of Theophrastus (who says, lib. iv. 3. "Silva ingens circa agrum Thebanum est, ubi et robur, et Persea, et olea,") the Persica should be Persea; supposed to be the Balanites Ægyptiaca. The trees now growing at Thebes are principally the Mimosa Nilotica, Tulh, Sellem, and Albida; Ochradenus baccatus; and sycomore. The wood Pliny mentions was at some distance from the Nile: but there must be an error in his expression, 300 stades (about 37 miles) from the river. I have introduced the Persea as well as the Peach. The former, if it be really the Egléeg, is now only found in Southern Ethiopia, and in the deserts south of the latitude of Ombos and Esouan; and indeed it appears, even in the time of the

Remarks.

" Pliny rejects the idle tale of the peach being a poisonous fruit introduced by the Persians into Egypt." *Vide* lib. xv. 13.

" Like to a palm, but with spreading branches. Fruit fills a man's hand; of a brown yellow colour. That within large and hard; turned and made into pulleys or sail rings. The nucleus within it eaten when young; exceedingly hard when dry (and ripe)." *Vide suprà*, Vol. II. p. 178.

" Seed pods used for tanning." " Produces gum." *Plin. Vide Athen.* xv. p. 680. Groves of it at Thebes, Memphis, and Abydus: the two last still remain.

" About Thebes, where the Persica, olive (and spina) grow." *Plin.* The oak is now unknown in Egypt.

Grows in the Eastern desert of the Thebaïd. *Vide Descr. de l'Egypte. Bot.* pl. 28. fig. 1.

" The olives of Egypt very fleshy, but with little oil." *Plin.* xv. 3. This is very true. Strabo says " the Arsinoite nome alone (excepting the gardens of Alexandria) produces the olive. The oil is very good if carefully extracted; if not, the quantity is great, but with a strong odour." Lib. xvii. p. 556.

" Near Thebes."

Vide suprà, Vol. III. p. 146. Strabo, xvii. p. 550.

Vide suprà, Vol. II. p. 183. 215. 217.

" The flower called Balaustium." *Plin.* It is the ancient *rodon* or rose, which was used for its dye, and gave its name to the Island of Rhodes. It is therefore on the reverse of the coins of that island.

Romans, that care was required for its preservation in the valley of Egypt, since a law was made by them against cutting down the Persea; " de Persetis per Ægyptum non excidendis vel vendendis."

‡ Pliny's description does not altogether agree with the Rhamnus, as he says the Prunus resembles the Spina or Acacia, especially in its feathery leaves, which when touched fall, and rise again. This calls to mind the sensitive plant, or Mimosa sensitiva; but it is unknown in Egypt. I thought Pliny might have had in view the Sodada decidua, or *Tonthob;* but I am inclined to refer his prunus to the Nabeca.

§ In lib. xiii. c. 16. Pliny mentions the Thya tree growing in the Oasis of Ammon, and the Cyrenaïca, on the authority of Theophrastus, which he says was known to Homer; its wood was very durable, and was used for rafters in temples.

Name from Pliny.	lib.	c.	Botanical Name.
Tamarix, Myrice, Tamarisk	13.	21.	Tamarix Gallica. (Arab. *Tarfa.*)
	24.	9.	
Ferula	13.	22.	Ferula communis? or Bubon tortuosum? (The Crythmum Pyrenaicum of Forskal.) (Arab. *Shebet e' Gebel.*)
	20.	23.	
Capparis	13.	23.	Capparis spinosa. (Arab. *Lussuf.*)
Sari	13.	23.	Cyperus dives? or C. fastigiatus? (Arab. *Dees.*)
Vitis, Vine	14.	3. 7.	Vitis vinifera. (Arab. *Enéb.*)
	16.	18.	
Cici, Croton, Trixis, or wild Sesamum.	15.	3.	Ricinus communis. (Arab. *Kharwah.*)
Raphanus	15.	7.	Raphanus oleïfer, or the Brassica oleïfer. (Arab. *Seemga*, or the *Selgam?*)
	19.	5.	
Chorticon, a Grass	15.	7.	———— ?
Sesama	15.	7.	Sesamum orientale. (Arab. *Simsim.*)
Urtica, called Cnecium, or Cnidium	15.	7.	Urtica pilulifera. (Arab. *Fiss el Kelâb.*)
	22.	13.	
Pyrus Alexandrina, Pear of Alexandria	15.	15.	Pyrus communis? (Arab. *Koomittree.*)
Ficus, Fig	15.	18.	Ficus Carica. (Arab. *Tin.*)
Myrtus, Myrtle	15.	29.*	Myrtus communis. (Arab. *As*, or *Mersia.*)
	21.	11.	

* According to Pliny, "the cherry tree could not be produced in Egypt, by any means." Lib. xv. c. 25. It is not grown there now.

† Pliny contradicts himself, when he says, "in Egypto minime odorati flores, quia nebulosus et roscidus aër est a Nilo flumine," having before stated (lib. v. 9.) that the same river alone, of all others, "nullas expirat auras;" and (lib. xvii. 2.) "calidus semper aër est in Egypto:" and the reason he assigns

Remarks.

" Called also Myrice, or wild brya, very abundant in Egypt and Syria." " Brya, or bryonia, commonly called Arbor infelix." *Plin.*

" Knotted and hollow stem, very light, good for matches. Some call the seed *Thapsia*." *Plin.* Two kinds, like the anethum. A large umbelliferous plant, supposed to be a sort of wild fennel.

The Caper. The fruit of the Egyptian caper, or *Lussuf*, is very large, like a small cucumber, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, which is eaten by the Arabs.

Vide Theophr. iv. 9. " It grows on the banks of the Nile, with a head (*coma*) like the papyrus, and is eaten in the same manner." *Plin.*

Vide suprà, Vol. II. 143. Pliny says that no trees, not even vines, lose their leaves about Memphis and Elephantine. Lib. xvi. 21.

Castorberry tree, or Palma Christi. " Oil extracted from it, abounds in Egypt." *Plin.*

" Oil made from its seeds in Egypt. *Plin.* It is probably the *Seemga* or Raphanus oleïfer, and not the sativus, that he alludes to. He may perhaps have had in view the *Selgam* (Brassica oleïfer,) or coleseed, so common throughout Egypt. The seemga is now confined to Nubia and the southern extremity of the Thebaïd.

" Oil extracted from it." *Plin.*

" Cultivated for its oil." *Vide suprà*, p. 54.

" Giving an oil." " The Alexandrian the best quality." " Used also medicinally." *Plin.* Supposed to be a nettle.

Perhaps of Greek introduction.

It is a singular fact, that the small fruit of the wild fig of the Egyptian desert, and of Syria, is called by the Arabs *Kottayn*, since Pliny says, " the small Syrian figs are called *Cottana*." Lib. xiii. c. 5. The tree is called *Hamát*.

" The myrtle of Egypt is the most odoriferous." *Plin.* and *Athen.* 15. It is only now grown in gardens. Pliny in another place says, " the flowers of Egypt have very little odor," xxi. 7.†, probably on the authority of Theophrastus. *Hist. Plant.* vi. 6.; *De Caus. Plant.* vi. 27.

for the deficiency of scent, in Egyptian flowers, would rather tend to increase than diminish it. Herodotus (ii. 19.) and Diodorus (i. 38.) say the same of the Nile. The words of the former are, " the Nile is the only river which does not produce cold winds;" of the latter, " the Nile is the only river about which clouds never collect, cold winds never blow, and where the air is not thickened (by fogs):" but these statements are not borne out by fact. Some flowers in

Name from Pliny.	lib.	c.	Botanical Name.
Calamus, Reed	16.	36.*	Arundo Donax, and Arundo Isiaca. (Arab. *Ḳussub*, and *Boos.*)
Hordeum, Barley	18.	7.	Hordeum vulgare. (Arab. *Shayír.*)
Triticum, Wheat	18.	8.	Triticum sativum. (Arab. *Kumh.*)
Zea	18.	8.	Triticum Zea?
Olyra		10.	Holcus Sorghum? (Arab. *Dóora.*)
Tiphe		11.	Triticum Spelta?
Faba, Beans	18.	12.	Vicia Faba. (Arab. *Fool.*)
Lens, Lentils	18.	12.	Ervum Lens. (Arab. *Atz* or *Adduz.*)
Linum, Flax	19.	1.	Linum usitatissimum. (Arab. *Kettán.*)
Gossipion, Cotton	19.	1.	Gossypium herbaceum. (Arab. *Ḳóton.*)
Aron	19.	5.	Arum Colocasia?
	24.	16.	(Arab. *Ḳolḳás.*)
Aris	24.	16.	Arum Arisarum?
Allium, Garlic	19.	6.	Allium sativum. (Arab. *Tôm.*)
Cepa, Onion	19.	6.	Allium Cepa. (Arab. *Bussal.*)
Porrum, Leak	19.	6.	Allium Porrum. (Arab. *Korrát.*)
Cuminum, Cummin	19.	8.	Cuminum Cyminum, and Nigella sativa (Arab. *Kammoon-abiad*, and *Kammoon-aswed.*)
	20.	15.	
Origanum	19.	8.	Origanum Ægyptiacum. (Arab. *Bardaḳoosh.*)
	20.	17.	
	25.	4.	

Egypt, in certain situations particularly, have a very strong scent, as the bean, which is much more powerful than in Europe. Those of the class Pentandria (a very extensive one in nature) may be considered as having less scent than in Europe; but this class, it is true, does not contain the most fragrant species of plants; and many of the Syngenesia (as well as Didynamia) have a very

Remarks.
"Used by many nations for arrows, so that half the world has been conquered by reeds." *Plin.*
Vide supra, p. 51. note.
Vide suprà, Vol. II. p. 397. "The Egyptians make a medicinal decoction of olyra for children, which they call Athara." *Plin.* xxii. 25.
"With a prickly stalk." *Plin.*
"Two kinds of lentils in Egypt." *Plin.*
"Four kinds, the Tanitic, Pelusiac, Butic, and Tentyritic." *Plin.*
"Called Gossipion, or Xylon: the cloths made from it hence named Xylina." *Plin.*
"About the size of a squill;" "with a bulbous root." *Plin.*
"Like the Aron, but smaller; the root being the size of an olive." *Plin.*
"Both ranked by the Egyptians among gods, in taking an oath." *Plin.*
"The best kind is in Egypt." *Plin.*
Pliny speaks of two, one whiter than the other, used for the same purpose, and put upon cakes of bread at Alexandria. The white and black Cuminum are called by the Arabs *Kammoon* abiad and *Kammoon* aswed: the latter is the Nigella sativa. *Vide supra*, Vol. II. p. 386.
Heracleotic.

powerful scent, particularly the Artemisias, the Santolina, and the *Robl*, a kind of Inula.

* Lib. xvi. 40., Pliny says, "cedar wood was used by the Kings of Egypt and Syria for want of fir (abies):" but he does not state that it grew in Egypt.

Name from Pliny.	lib.	c.	Botanical Name.
Sinapis, Mustard -	19.	8.	Sinapis juncea. (Arab. *Khardel*, or *Kubbr.*)
Cichorium, or Intubus erraticus - -	20.	8.	Cichorium Intybus. (Arab. *Shikórieh.*)
	21.	15.	
Seris - - -	20.	8.	Cichorium Endivia? (Arab. *Hendebeh.*)
Anisum, Aniseed -	20.	17.	Pimpinella Anisum. (Arab. *Yensoón.*)
Coriandrum - -	20.	20.	Coriandrum sativum. (Arab. *Kuzber*, or *Koozbareh.*)
Buceros, or Fœnum Græcum	21.	7.	Trigonella Fœnum Græcum. (Arab. *Helbeh.*)
	24.	19.	
(*Helenium*) - -	21.	10.	Teucrium Creticum?
	21.	21.	
Amaracus - -	21.	11.	Origanum Majorana.
	21.	22.	
Melilotus - -	21.	11.	Trifolium Melilotus Indica. (Arab. *Rekrak* or *Nafal?*)
Rosa, Rose - -		11.	Rosa centifolia. (Arab. *Werd.*)
Viola, Violet - -	21.	11.	Viola odorata. (Arab. *Benefsig.*)
Colocasia, or Cyamus, or Faba Ægyptia.	21.	15.	Nymphæa Nelumbo, or Nelumbium.
Anthalium - -	21.	15.	Supposed to be the Cyperus esculentus? ? (Arab. *Hab el ăzeez.*)
	21.	29.	
Œtum - -	21.	15.	Supposed to be the Arachis hypogæa? *

* I do not believe this to be a native of Egypt.

Remarks.

"The best seed is the Egyptian. Called also Napy, Thaspi, and Saurion." *Plin.*

"In Egypt, the wild endive is called Cichorium; the garden endive, Seris." *Plin.*

"The Egyptian is the best quality after the Cretan." *Plin.*

"The best is from Egypt." *Plin.*

"Without any scent." *Plin.*
Vide supra, p. 52.

(Helenium (according to Dioscorides), a native of Egypt. This and four other species of Teucrium now grow there.)

"What is called by Diocles, and the Sicilians, Amaracus, is known in Egypt and Syria as the Sampsuchum." . "An oil made from it." *Plin.* Athenæus (xv. p. 676.) says, "the Amaracus abounds in Egypt;" and in lib. v. he mentions Amaracine ointment.

"Grows every where." *Plin.*

If by "In Ægypto sine odore hæc omnia," Pliny means that *all* the flowers mentioned in this chapter are Egyptian, many others might be here introduced.

"Growing in the Nile:" "one of the wild plants, which abound so plentifully in Egypt." *Plin. Athen.* iii. p. 72. *Strabo,* xvii. p. 550.

"Grows some distance from the Nile." "Fruit like a medlar, without husk or kernel. Leaf of the Cyperus. No other use but for food." *Plin.* Some suppose it the Cyperus esculentus, which is very doubtful.

"Also eaten in Egypt. Few leaves; large root." *Plin.* Theophrastus says, it has a long root, gathered at the time of the inundation, and used for crowning the altars. Lib. i. c. 1. 11.

Name from Pliny.	lib.	c.	Botanical Name.	
Arachidna	21.	15.	——————?	All esculent plants.
Aracos*	21.	15.	——————?	
Condrylla	21.	15.	Lactuca sativa? (Arab. *Khuss.*)	
Hypocheris	21.	15.	Hyoseris lucida.	
Caucalis	21.	15.	Caucalis daucoïdes?	
Anthriscum	21.	15.	Caucalis anthriscus. (Arab. *Gezzer e'shaytán.*)	
Scandix, or Tragopogon.	21.	15.	Tragopogon picroïdes? (Arab. *Edthbáh?*)	
Parthenium	21.	15. 30.	Matricaria Parthenium, or M. Chamomilla.	
	22.	17.		
	25.	5.		
Strychnum, or Strychnus, or Trychos, or Solanum	21.	15.	Solanum Dulcamara, or Solanum nigrum. (Arab. *Eneb e' deeb.*)	
	21.	31.		
	27.	13.		
Corchorus	21.	15.	Corchorus olitorius. (Arab. *Melokhéëh.*)	
	21.	32.		
Aphace	21.	15.	Leontodon Taraxacum.	
Acinos	21.	15.	Thymus Acinos, or Ocymum Zatarhendi. (Arab. *Zátar.*)	
	21.	27.		
Epipetron	21.	15.	Sedum confertum. (Arab. *Heialem.*)	
Cnicus, or Atractylis	21.	15.	Carthamus tinctorius? (Arab. *Koortum.*)	
	21.	32.	The other is perhaps the Carthamus Creticus?	
Tribulus	21.	16.	Trapa natans?	
	22.	10.		
Perdicium	21.	17.	——— ———?	
	22.	17.		
Ornithogale	21.	17.	Ornithogalum Arabicum?	
Juncus	21.	18.	Juncus acutus? (Arab. *Sumár.*)	

* Some have supposed these two to be of the genus Lathyrus: I think erroneously.

	Remarks.
	"These two have spreading and numerous roots; but no leaf, nor any thing above the ground." *Plin.*
Lettuce?	
	"Leaves like a crocus." *Plin.*
	Dioscorides describes its flower with a white circuit and yellow within.
	"Used in Egypt for chaplets: the leaves like ivy: of two kinds; one has red berries (in a sort of bladder) full of grains, and is called Halicacabus, or Callion, and, in Italy, Vesicaria: the third kind is very poisonous." Nightshade.
	"Eaten at Alexandria." *Plin.*
	"Flowers all the winter and spring, till the summer." *Plin.* Dandelion.
	"The Egyptians grow the Acinos for making chaplets and for food. It appears the same as the Ocimum, but its leaves and stalks are more hirsute." *Plin.*
	"Never flowers." *Plin.* Some editions of Pliny make this and the Acinos the same; but they are generally believed to be different.
	Supposed to be the Carthamus. "Unknown in Italy. Oil extracted from the seeds, and of great value. Two kinds; the wild and the cultivated; and two species of the former. Remedy against the poison of scorpions and other reptiles." *Plin.* It is supposed that the Cnicus and Atractylis are not the same plant.
	"Grows about the Nile in marshes, and is eaten. Leaf like the elm." *Plin.*
	"Eaten by other people, as by the Egyptians." "Grows on walls and tiles of houses." *Plin.*
	"Sieves made of it in Egypt." *Plin.*

Name from Pliny.	lib.	c.	Botanical Name.
Cypirus	21.	18.	Gladiolus communis.
Cyperus	21.	18.	Cyperus Niloticus, and many other species.
Heliochrysum, or Chrysanthemum.	21.	25.	Gnaphalium Stœchas.
Persoluta	21.	33.	——— ———?
Lotometra	22.	21.	A large kind of cultivated lotus, or Nymphæa Lotus.
(*Rhus*)	24.	11.*	Rhus oxyacanthoïdes. (Arab. *Errin.*)
Egyptian Clematis, or Daphnoides, or Polygonoides.	24.	15.	Vinca major et minor?
Ophiusa	24.	17.	——— ———?
Stratiotis	24.	18.	Pistia Stratiotes. (Arab. *Heialem el ma.*)
Nepenthes	25.	2.	Perhaps the *Bust* or *Hasheésh*, a preparation of the Cannabis sativa.
	21.	21.	
Absinthium marinum, or Seriphium	27.	7.	Artemisia Judaïca? (Arab. *Bytherán.*)
	21.	21.	
Myosotis	27.	12.	Myosotis arvensis.

The trees of ancient Egypt have been already mentioned.† I shall therefore only add, in confirmation of their having been known in the early times of the Pharaohs, that the paintings of the tombs represent the date, dôm, sycomore, pomegranate‡, persea, tamarisk§, and Periploca Secamone:

* In the same chapter Pliny says ebony is not produced in Egypt.
† Vol. II. p. 181. *et seq.*, and III. 168.
‡ Conf. Numb. xx. 5. "of figs, or of vines, or of pomegranates."
◊ *Vide infrà* on the sacred plants in Chap. XIV.

Remarks.
"With a bulbous root." *Plin.*
"A triangular rush." *Plin.*
"Gods crowned with it; a custom particularly observed by Ptolemy, King of Egypt." *Plin.*
"Grown in gardens in Egypt, for making chaplets." *Plin.*
"Coming from the garden lotos, from whose seed, like millet, the Egyptian bakers make bread." *Plin.*
("Rhus: leaves like myrtle, used for dressing skins." Though Pliny does not mention it as an Egyptian plant, it is indigenous in the desert, and the leaves and wood are used by the Arabs for tanning.)
"Mostly produced in Egypt." *Plin.*
"About Elephantina." *Plin.*
"Only in Egypt, during the inundation of the Nile." *Plin.*
"Homer attributes the glory of herbs to Egypt. He mentions many given to Helen by the wife of the Egyptian King, particularly the Nepenthes, which caused oblivion of sorrow." *Plin.*
"The best at Taposiris in Egypt: a bunch of it carried at the fête of Isis." *Plin.*
"The Egyptians believe, that if, on the 27th day of Thiatis (Thoth), which answers nearly to our August, any one anoints himself with its juice before he speaks in the morning, he will be free from weakness of the eyes all that year." *Plin.*

and the fruit, seeds, or leaves of the *nebḳ**, vine, fig, olive, *Mokhayt* †, *Kharoob* or locust tree ‡, palma Christi or *cici* §, *Sont* or acanthus ‖, bay, and *Egleeg* or balanites ¶, have been found in the

* Rhamnus Nabeca, Forsk.

† Cordia Myxa, Linn.

‡ Ceratonia Siliqua, Linn. Pliny calls it Ceraunia siliqua, and says it did not grow in Egypt. xiii. 8.

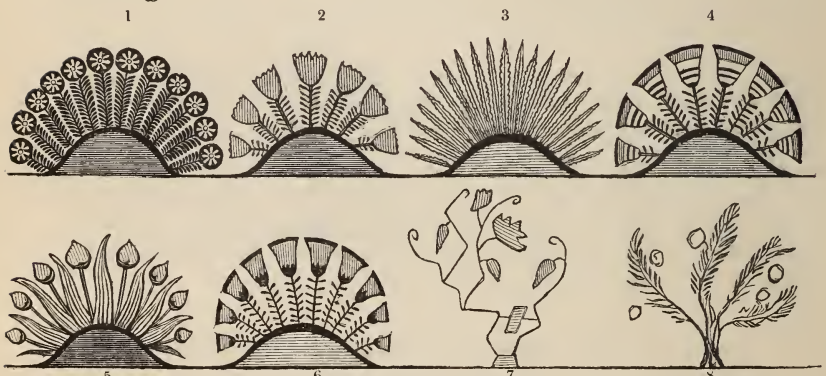
§ Ricinus communis, Linn. the castorberry tree.

‖ Mimosa or Acacia Nilotica.

¶ Balanites Ægyptiaca, supposed to be the Persea. *Vide* p. 61.

tombs of Thebes. * Many seeds and fruits also occur there; as the Areca, Tamarind, Myrobalanus, and others, which are the produce either of India or the interior of Africa; but these are not readily confounded with the actual productions of Egypt. They are, however, highly interesting, as they show the constant intercourse maintained with those distant countries.

The sculptures represent various trees and flowers, some of which may be recognised, while others are less clearly defined, and of these I submit the following to the expert botanist, who may feel disposed to suggest their names, or the family to which they belong.



No. 427. Plants from the sculptures. *From Thebes.*

Fig. 1. to 6. inclusive, from the tomb of Remeses III.

Little attention is now paid by the inhabitants of Egypt to the cultivation of plants, beyond those used for the purpose of food, or to the growth of trees, excepting the palm, large groves of which are met with in every part of the country; and in-

* It is said that the lime and Seville orange have been found, which is singular, as they are supposed to have been first introduced from India by the Arabs.

deed, if the statement of Strabo* be true, that, "in all (Lower) Egypt the palm was sterile, or bore an uneatable fruit, though of excellent quality in the Thebaïd," this tree is now cultivated with more success in Lower Egypt than in former times, some of the best quality of dates being produced there, particularly at Korayn, near the Delta, where the kind called A'maree is superior to any produced to the N. of Nubia.

Few timber trees are now grown to any great extent either in Upper or Lower Egypt. Some sycomores, whose wood is required for water wheels and other purposes; a few groups of *Athuls*, or Oriental tamarisks, used for tools and other implements requiring a compact wood; and two or three groves of *Sont*, or Mimosa Nilotica, valuable for its hard wood, and for its pods used in tanning, are nearly all that the modern inhabitants retain of the many trees grown by their predecessors. But their thriving condition, as that of the mulberry trees (planted for the silkworms), which form, with the Mimosa Lebbek, some shady avenues in the vicinity of Cairo, and of the Cassia fistula (bearing its dense mass of blossoms in the gardens of the metropolis), show that it is not the soil, but the industry of the people, which is wanting to encourage the growth of trees.

The *Egleeg*, or balanites, the supposed Persea, no longer thrives in the valley of Nile; many other trees are rare, or altogether unknown; and the extensive groves of Acanthus, or *Sont*, are rather tolerated than encouraged, as the de-

* Strabo, xvii. p. 563.

scendants of the trees planted in olden times near the edge of the cultivated land. Their value is understood; the sale of sont pods is a revenue to the owner without the trouble of cultivation; the trees are found by a son as they were left by his father; but no trouble is taken to add to their number, and this careless indifference about their growth is confirmed by the unwise system of a government which taxes every tree, and makes it a cause of vexation to its possessor.

But though many are gone, it is interesting to see these few remnants of ancient groves, which have continued to occupy the same spots, perhaps, from the earliest times. The grove of Acanthus, alluded to by Strabo, still exists above Memphis, at the base of the low Libyan hills: in going from the Nile to Abydus, you ride through the grove of Acacia, once sacred to Apollo, and see the rising Nile traversing it by a canal similar to that which conveyed the water thither when the geographer visited that city, even then reduced to the condition of a small village: and groves of the same tree may here and there be traced in other parts of the Thebaïd, from which it obtained the name of the Thebaïc thorn.

Above the cataracts, the *Sont* grows in profusion upon the banks of the Nile, where it is used for charcoal sent to Cairo for sale by the poor Nubians; and its place is supplied in the desert by the Sealeh and other of the Mimosa tribe, which are indigenous to the soil.

Many flowers and shrubs were grown in pots or wooden boxes in the gardens, or the walks near

the houses of the ancient Egyptians; and to the garden department belonged the care of the bees, which were kept in hives similar to our own.* In Egypt, bees require great attention; and so few are the plants at the present day, that the owners of hives often take them in boats to various spots upon the Nile, in quest of flowers. They are a much smaller species than our own; and though I have met with them wild in many parts of Egypt, I never saw them in any numbers; but wasps, hornets, and ichneumons abound throughout the valley of the Nile. The wild bees hive mostly under stones, or in clefts of the rock, as in many other countries; and the expression of Moses and of the Psalmist, "honey out of the rock †," shows that in Palestine their habits were the same. Virgil ‡ mentions a mode of replenishing the stock of bees, practised in Egypt, by means of the carcase of a bull, which, as M. de Pauw supposes, is probably a story derived from the custom of raising young swarms in the warmth of a stable §: but neither this, nor any other secret respecting their management, can be looked for in the sculptures of the tombs; and whatever skill the Egyptians possessed in these, as in many other matters, must continue unknown to us; though, from the great importance || they attached to honey

* I remember to have seen them so represented in a tomb at Thebes, but have no copy of the subject.

† Deut. xxxii. 13. Ps. lxxxi. 16.

‡ Virg. Georg. iv. 299. Plin. xi. 20.

§ He thinks of the sacred bulls; but there is no necessity that they should have been sacred. Vol. i. p. 176.

|| Plut. de Is. s. lxxxi. 68.

as a welcome offering to the Gods, and an article of luxury, we may conclude that great pains were taken in rearing bees; and the difficulty of procuring for them an abundant supply of food at certain seasons, doubtless, led to the adoption of many curious expedients, which, being unnecessary, were unthought of in other countries.

The principal woods used by the Egyptians were the date, *Dôm*, sycomore, acacia, tamarisk, *Egleeg* or balanite, ebony, fir, and cedar. The various purposes, to which every part of the palm or date tree was applied, have been already noticed*, as well as of the *Dôm*, or Theban palm.† Sycomore wood was employed for coffins, boxes, small idols, doors, window shutters, stools, chairs, and cramps for building; for handles of tools, wooden pegs or nails, cramps, idols, small boxes, and those parts of cabinet work requiring hard compact wood, the *Sont*, or Acacia Nilotica was usually preferred; and spears were frequently made of other acacias, which grew in the interior, or on the confines of the desert.

In tools of various kinds, the wood of the Tamarix orientalis was likewise much used, and even occasionally in pieces of furniture, for which purpose the Egleeg was also employed; but the principal woods adopted by the cabinet-maker for fine work were ebony, fir, and cedar. The first came from the interior of Africa, and formed, with ivory, gold, ostrich feathers, dried fruits, and skins, the principal object of the annual tribute brought

* Vol. II. p. 176. *et seq.* † Vol. II. p. 178.

to Egypt by the conquered tribes of Ethiopia and the Soodán; fir and cedar being imported from Syria. The two last were in great demand for ornamental furniture, for coffins, small boxes, and various objects connected with the dead; and many woods of a rare and valuable kind were brought to Egypt by the people of Asia tributary to the Pharaohs the beauty and value of which may be estimated by the frequent custom of imitating them, for the satisfaction of those who could not afford to purchase furniture or trinkets of so expensive a material.

There is reason to believe that the ancient Egyptians encouraged, or at least profited by, the growth of many wild plants of the desert, which were useful for medicinal purposes. Many of them are still known to the Arabs, as the Salvadora Persica, Heliotropium inebrians, Lycium Europæum, Scilla maritima, Cassia Senna, Ochradenus baccatus, Ocimum Zatarhendi, Linaria Ægyptiaca, Spartium monospermum, Hedysarum Alhagi, Santolina fragrantissima, Artemisia Judaica (monosperma and inculta), Inula undulata and crispa, Cucumis Colocynthis, &c.: and many others have probably fallen into disuse from the ignorance of the modern inhabitants of the country, who, only know them from the Arabs, by whom the traditions concerning their properties are preserved. From what Homer tells us of "the infinity of drugs produced in Egypt," the use of "many medicines" mentioned by Jeremiah*, and the frequent al-

* *Vide suprà*, Vol. III. p. 392.

lusion by Pliny to the medicinal plants of that country, we may conclude that the productions of the desert (where those herbs mostly grow) were particularly prized; and several were found of great use in dyeing, tanning, curing skins, and various other purposes. Of these, the most remarkable were the fungi, for dyeing; the pods of the Acacia Nilotica, the bark of the Acacia Seyal, and the wood and bark of the Rhus oxyacanthoides, for tanning; and the Periploca Secamone*, for curing skins.

The process adopted in the employment of these plants I shall not now stop to describe, nor shall I enter into any detail of their medicinal use, and the maladies they are said to cure: this will more properly form part of a dissertation on the botany of Egypt, reserved for a future work. But I may be allowed to make one observation on the *Owseg*, *Owshes*, or Lycium Europæum, though not immediately connected with the subject of Egypt. This thorny shrub, called by the Copts Ramnus, which is common in the hills, throughout Lower Egypt and Syria, has a better claim to the title of "the holy thorn," of which the Saviour's crown is said to have been made, than any other plant. The modern and ancient Greeks agree with the Copts in giving it the name Ramnus; and Pliny† evidently had in view the *Owshes*, when he says "it is called by the Greeks Rhamnus, and is a flowering thorny plant,

* This climbing plant appears to be represented in the tomb of Remeses III. at Thebes, used in lieu of the ivy, which in its leaf it slightly resembles.

† Plin. xxiv. 14.

with spreading branches, having thorns, not curved like other briars, but straight, and larger leaves;" though the name of Rhamnus has been applied by modern botanists to a different genus.*

CULTIVATION OF WHEAT.

Of the erroneous statement made by Herodotus respecting the use of wheat, I have already spoken †; and have shown that wheat and barley were abundantly cultivated in every part of Egypt. The former was cut in about five, the latter in four months ‡; the best quality, according to Pliny, being grown in the Thebaïd.§ The wheat, as at the present day, was all bearded, and the same varieties, doubtless, existed in ancient as in modern times ‖; among which may be mentioned the seven-eared quality described in Pharaoh's dream. ¶ It was cropped a little below the ear ** with a toothed sickle, and carried to the threshing floor in wicker baskets upon asses ††, or in rope ‡‡ nets, the gleaners following to collect the fallen ears in hand baskets. The rope net, answering to

* Linnæus gives the name of Rhamnus Spina Christi, to a different plant: and the Nebeca or Nebk, the Zizyphus, and others of this kind, come under the general denomination of Rhamnus. There appears to be some confusion between the Lycium and the Rhamnus.

† Vol. II. p. 397.

‡ Conf. Diodor. i. 36. "They return after four or five months to cut the corn." Pliny (xviii. 7.) says barley in the 6th and wheat in the 7th month.

§ Plin. xviii. 18.

‖ *Vide* my General View of Egypt, p. 261.

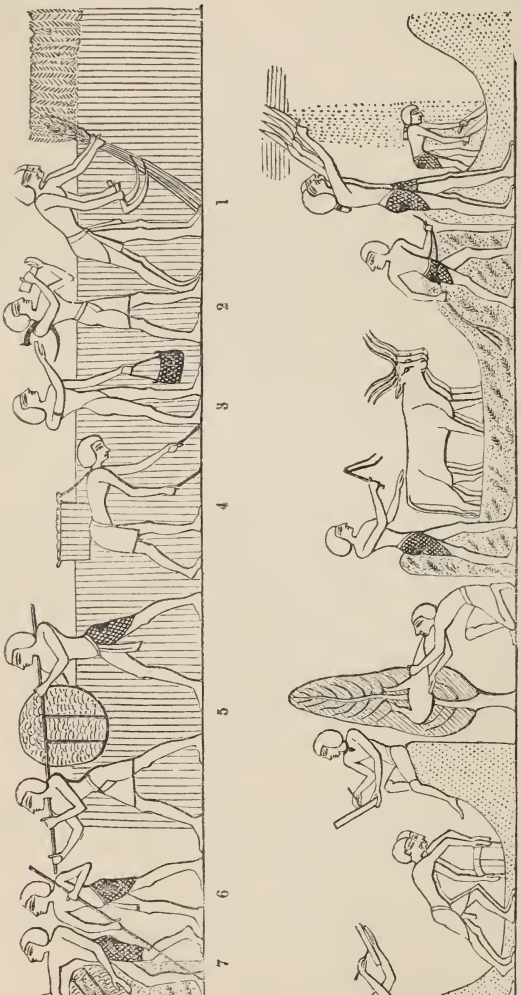
¶ Genes. xli. 22.

** Conf. Job, xxiv. 24. "Cut off as the tops of the ears of corn."

†† *Vide* woodcut, No. 429. *figs.* 4. and 5.

‡‡ *Vide* woodcut, No. 428. *figs.* 5. and 7.

the *Shenfeh* of modern Egypt, was borne on a pole by two men; and the threshing floor was a level



No. 428. Harvest scene. *Thebes.*

Fig. 1. The reapers. 2. A reaper drinking from a cup. 3, 4. Gleaners: the first of these asks the reaper to allow him to drink. 5. carrying the ears in a rope basket; the length of the stubble showing the ears alone are cut off. 8. winnowing. 10. The *driver*, answering to our threshing. 12. drinks from a water skin suspended in a tree. 14. Scribe who notes down the number of bushels measured from the heap. 16. checks the account by noting those taken away to the granary.

No. 429. The *tritura*.

Fig. 1. The steward, or the owner of the land.
2. throws the ears of wheat into the centre that the oxen may pass over them and tread out the grain.
3. The driver.
4. brings the wheat to the threshing floor, in baskets carried on asses.
The oxen are yoked together that they may walk round regularly.

circular area * near the field, or in the vicinity of the granary †, where, when it had been well swept ‡, the ears were deposited, and cattle were driven over it to tread out the grain. While superintending the animals employed for this purpose, the Egyptian peasant, as usual both in ancient and modern times, relieved his labours by singing; and the ingenious Champollion § found in a tomb at Eilethyas a song of the threshers, written in hieroglyphics over oxen treading out the grain, of which he gives this translation:—"(1) Thresh for yourselves (twice repeated ‖), (2) O oxen, (3) thresh for

No. 430 Song of the threshers to the oxen. *Eilethyas.*

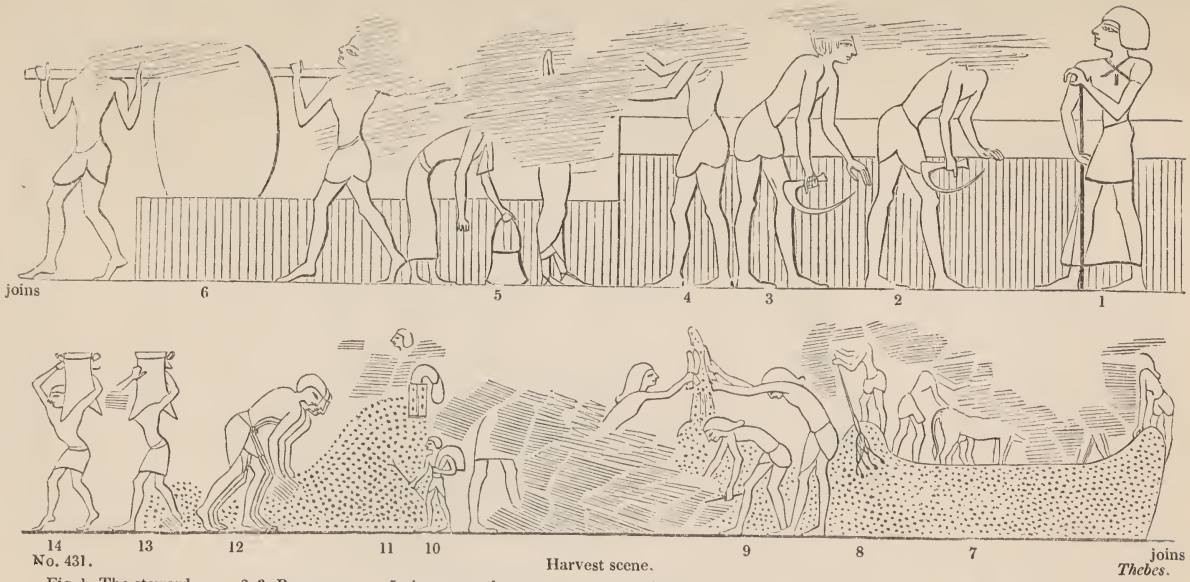
* Those of the Romans were paved, or more usually formed of clay, well laid down and smoothed by rollers. Virg. Georg. i. 178.

† As with the Romans. *Vide* Colum. i. 6.

‡ Conf. Matthew, iii. 12.

§ Lettres sur l'Egypte, 11th and 12th letters, p. 146. 196.

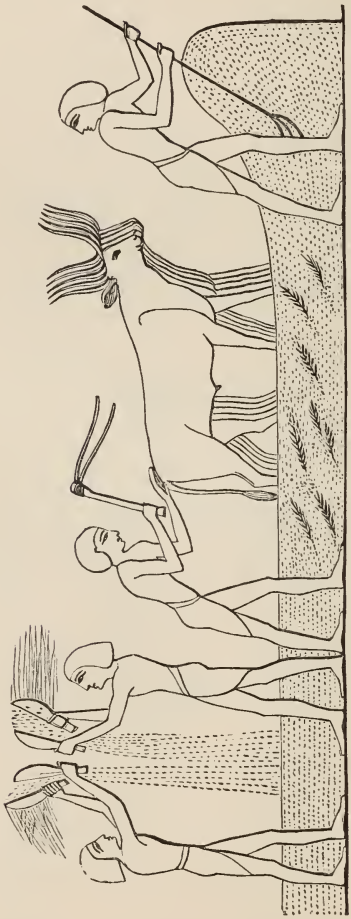
‖ This sign of twice occurs at *a* and *b*.



No. 431. Harvest scene.

Fig. 1. The steward. 2, 3. Reapers. 5. A woman gleaner. 6. carrying the wheat in the usual rope net. 7. The tritura.
9. Winnowers. 11. The scribe. 13, 14. carrying the grain to the granary in sacks.
The continuation of this scene, beyond the fig. 14. is given in woodcut, No. 122. Vol. II. p. 136.

yourselves (twice) (4) measures for yourselves*, (5) measures for your masters;" similar to which may



No. 432. Tritura, or threshing, and winnowing. *Thebes.*

Fig. 1. raking up the ears to the centre.
2. The driver.
3. winnowing, with wooden shovels.

be found other songs in the sculptured tombs† of Upper Egypt.

* Champollion has omitted this.
† *Vide* Rosellini, vol. i. part ii. p. 311.

A certain quantity was first strewed in the centre of the area, and when this had been well triturated by the animals' feet, more was added by means of large wooden forks, from the main heap, raised around and forming the edge of the threshing floor; and so on till all the grain was trodden out. This process was called by the Latins *tritura* *, and was generally adopted by ancient, as by some modern people. Sometimes the cattle were bound together by a piece of wood or a rope fastened to their horns, in order to force them to go round the heap, and tread it regularly, the driver following behind them with a stick.†

After the grain was trodden out, they winnowed it with wooden shovels; it was then carried to the granary in sacks, each containing a fixed quantity, which was determined by wooden measures, a scribe noting down the number as called by the teller who superintended its removal. Sweepers with small hand-brooms were employed to collect the scattered grain that fell from the measure; and the "immense heaps of corn" mentioned by Diodorus ‡, collected from "the field which was round about every city §," fully accord with the representation of the paintings in the tombs ||, and with those seen at the present day in the villages of the Nile. Sometimes two scribes ¶ were present; one to write down the number of measures taken from the heap of corn, and the other to check

* Sometimes by horses. Plin. xvii. 30. Virg. Georg. iii. 132.
† *Vide* woodcut, No. 429.
‡ Diodor. i. 36.
§ Genes. xli. 48.
|| *Vide* woodcut, No. 428. 431.
¶ *Vide* woodcut, No. 428.

them, by entering the quantity removed to the granary *; but the office of the latter was probably to take account of the sacks actually housed; and this shows how necessary they considered it to guard against the artifices of a cunning people, and how much the refinements of civilisation had tended, as is commonly the case, to substitute deception for the original simplicity of an infant state.

Herodotus † describes the Egyptian mode of treading out the grain by oxen, in which he is fully borne out by the sculptures of the tombs; and these inform us that they occasionally, though rarely, employed asses for the same purpose.

This was also the custom of the Jews, and, like the Egyptians, they suffered the ox to tread out the corn unmuzzled, according to the express order of their lawgiver.‡ In later times, however, it appears that the Jews used "threshing instruments;" though, from the offer made to David by Ornan, of "the oxen also," and the use of the word *dus*, "treading," in the sentence, "Ornan was *threshing* wheat §," it is possible that the tritura is here alluded to, and that the threshing instruments only refer to the winnowing shovels, or other implements used on those occasions: though the "new sharp threshing instrument having teeth," mentioned in Isaiah ||, cannot fail to call to mind the

* Of the granary, *vide* Vol. II. p. 135.

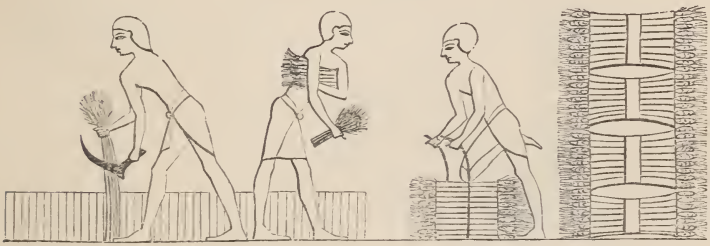
† Herodot. ii. 14. Αποδινησας δε τησι βουσι τον σιτον ουτω κομιζεται.

‡ Deut. xxv. 4. Ælian says, that to prevent the oxen eating the grain and straw, they used in old times to rub their mouth with manure. Hist. An. iv. 25.

§ *Vide* 1 Chron. xxi. 20. and 23.

|| Isaiah, xli. 15.

noreg *, or corn drag, of modern Egypt, which the Hebrew name "moreg" so closely resembles; and the same word is applied to the "threshing instruments" of Ornan. † The Jews, like the Greeks ‡, bound up the wheat, when cut, into sheaves §; but this was not the usual custom of the Egyptians, who were generally contented to



No. 433. Wheat bound in sheaves. *Thebes.*

Fig. 1. reaping. 2. carrying the ears. 3. binding them in sheaves put up at fig. 4.

put it into baskets or rope nets, and to carry it loose to the threshing floor. The same was done by the Romans; and they either cut down the corn to the roots, or culled the ears with a toothed sickle, gathering the straw afterwards ‖, or burning it for manure.¶

The modern Egyptians cut the wheat close to the ground, — barley and doora being plucked up by the roots, — and having bound it in sheaves, carry it to a level and cleanly swept area near the field, in the centre of which they collect it in a

* *Vide* Vignette, Vol. II. p. 196.
† In 1 Chron. xxi. 23. moregim.
‡ Hom. Il. xviii. 550.
§ This ancient custom is mentioned in Genesis xxxvii. 7. *Vide* Levit. xxiii. 10. Deut. xxiv. 19. &c.
‖ Colum. ii. 21. ¶ Virg. Georg. i. 84.

heap, and then taking a sufficient quantity, spread it upon the open area, and pass over it the *noreg* drawn by two oxen. The difference in the modern and ancient method being that in the former the *noreg* is used, and the oxen go round the heap, which is in the centre, and not at the circumference, of the threshing floor. Some instances, however, occur of the heap being in the centre, as at the present day, as in the accompanying cut.

No. 434. *Thebes.*
The oxen driven round the heap; contrary to the usual custom.

The noreg is a machine consisting of a wooden frame, with three cross bars or axles, on which are fixed circular iron plates, for the purpose of bruising the ears of corn and extracting the grain, at the same time that the straw is broken up into small pieces: the first and last axles having each four plates, and the central one three: and at the upper part is a seat on which the driver sits, his weight tending to give additional effect to the machine.*

* *Vide* Vol. II. p. 190. Vignette F.

The *tribulum* *, which was sometimes used by the Romans, appears not to have been very dissimilar, as we learn from Varro †, who describes it as "a frame made rough by stones or pieces of iron, on which the driver, or a great weight, was placed; and this being drawn by beasts yoked to it, pressed out the grain from the ear."

While some were employed in collecting the grain and depositing it in the granary, others gathered the long stubble from the field, and prepared it as provender to feed the horses and cattle; for which purpose it was used by the Romans ‡, as by the modern Egyptians. They probably preferred reaping the corn close to the ear, in order to facilitate the trituration; and afterwards cutting the straw close to the ground, or plucking it by the roots, they chopped it up for the cattle; and this, with dried clover (the *drees* of modern Egypt), was laid by for autumn, when the pastures being overflowed by the Nile, the flocks and herds were kept in sheds or pens on the high grounds, or in the precincts of the villages. §

The straw was doubtless cut up, as at the present day, by some contrivance answering to our hay knife, and cleansed from the earth, dust, or other impurities, previous to use; being "winnowed with the shovel, and with the fan," in the manner mentioned by Isaiah ‖, when speaking of "provender" given to cattle. This custom of feeding some of their

* Virg. Georg. i. 164.
† Var. de Re Rustica, i. 52.
‡ Plin. xviii. 30.
§ Diodor. i. 36.
‖ Isaiah, xxx. 24. "בָּרֵחַת וּבְמִזְרֶה." Conf. Matt. iii. 12.

herds in sheds accords with the scriptural account of the preservation of the cattle, which had been "brought home" from the field; and explains the apparent contradiction of the destruction of "*all* the cattle of Egypt" by the murrain, and the *subsequent* destruction of the cattle by the hail*; those which "were in the field" alone having suffered from the previous plague, and those in the stalls or "houses" having been preserved.

An instance of stall-fed oxen from the sculptures has been given in my account of the farmyard† and villas of the Egyptians.

The first crop of wheat having been gathered, they prepared the land for whatever produce they next intended to rear; the field was ploughed, and sowed, and, if necessary, the whole was inundated by artificial means, as often as the quality of the crop or other circumstances required.‡ The same was repeated after the second and third harvest, for which, as I have already observed, the peasant was indebted to his own labours in raising water from the Nile, — an arduous task, and one from which no showers relieved him throughout the whole season. For in Upper Egypt rain may be said never to fall, five or six slight showers, that annually fall there, scarcely deserving that name; and in no country is artificial irrigation so indispensable, as in the valley of the Nile.

In many instances, instead of corn they reared

* Exod. ix. 6. and 19. *et seq.* † Vol. II. p. 134.

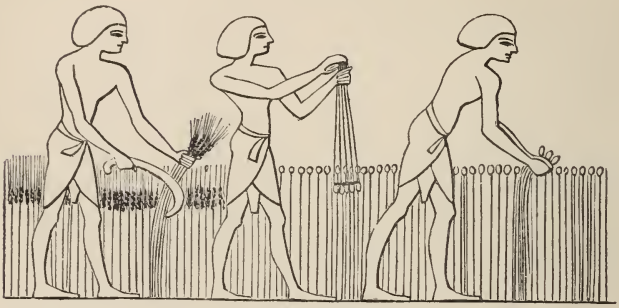
‡ Pliny says, "In Ægypto omni serunt mense, et ubicunque imbres æstivi non sunt, ut in India et Æthiopia." Lib. xvii. 18.

clover, or leguminous herbs, which were sown as soon as the water began to subside, generally about the commencement of October; and at the same time that corn, or other produce, was raised on the land just left by the water, another crop was procured by artificial irrigation. This, of course, depended on the choice of each individual*, who consulted the advantages obtained from certain kinds of produce, the time required for their succession, or the benefit of the land: for though no soil recovers more readily from the bad effects arising from a repetition of similar crops, through the equalising influence of the alluvial deposit, it is at length found to impoverish the land; and the Egyptian peasant is careful not to neglect the universal principle in husbandry, of varying the produce on the same ground.

Besides wheat, other crops are represented in the paintings of the tombs; one of which, a tall grain, is introduced as a production both of Upper and Lower Egypt.† From the colour, the height to which it grows, compared with the wheat, and the appearance of a round yellow head it bears on the top of its bright green stalk, it is evidently intended to represent the *doora*, or Holcus Sorghum. It was not reaped by a sickle, like the wheat and barley, but men, and sometimes women, were employed to pluck it up‡; which being done, they struck off the earth that adhered to the roots with their hands, and having

* *Vide* Vol. II. p. 37.
† At Thebes, Eilethyas, Beni Hassan, and Saccara.
‡ *Vide* woodcuts, Nos. 435. and 436.

bound it in sheaves, they carried it to what may be termed the threshing floor, where, being forcibly



No. 435. Gathering the doora and wheat. *Thebes.*

Fig. 1. plucking up the plant by the roots.
2. striking off the earth from the roots.
3. reaping wheat.

drawn through an instrument armed at the summit with metal spikes, the grain was stripped off, and fell upon the well-swept area below,—a satisfactory illustration of which is given in one of the agricultural scenes of a tomb at Eilethyas in the following woodcut.

Much flax was cultivated in Egypt, and the various processes of watering it, beating the stalks when gathered, making it into twine, and lastly into a piece of cloth, are represented in the paintings. I have already noticed them in a preceding part of this work *, as well as the difficulty presented by the name Byssus. †

At the end of summer, the peasant looked anxiously for the return of the inundation, upon which all his hopes for the ensuing year depended. He watched with scrupulous attention the first

* Vol. III. p. 138, 139. † Vol. III. p. 116.

rise of the river; the state of its daily increase was noted down and proclaimed by the curators

No. 436. Gathering the Doora, and stripping off the grain.

Fig. 1. Woman plucking up the plant by the roots.
2. striking off the earth from the roots after he has plucked it up.
3. binding it into a sheaf.
4. carrying it to the area.
5. stripping off the grain by drawing the head forcibly through an instrument furnished with metal spikes for this purpose.

of the Nilometers at Memphis and other places; and the same anxiety for the approaching inundation was felt as on each preceding year.

INUNDATION AND STATE OF THE NILE.

About the middle of June, a gradual and continuous increase of the Nile was already seen, even as low as the vicinity of Memphis; "its first rise being perceived*," at the cataracts, about the end of May, or the beginning of June; and a change from the previous clearness of the stream was soon observed in its red and turbid state, caused by the rains from the mountains of Abyssinia.† It then assumed a green appearance‡; and during this period its water being deemed unwholesome, a supply previously laid up in jars was used until it had reassumed its turbid but wholesome red colour. This explains the remark of Aristides§, that "the Egyptians are the only people who preserve water in jars, and calculate its age as other nations do that of wine;" and the reason for adopting water jars as emblems of the inundation (on the authority of Horapollo‖ and the sculptures) may probably be derived from this custom of laying up the pure water of the Nile in jars, about the season, or at the first approach, of the inundation; though the calculation of the age of the water must be considered a Greek exaggeration.

It was perhaps this change in the appearance of the river which led the Egyptians to represent the

* Seneca, Nat. Quæst. iv. 2. p. 886. *Vide suprà*, p. 9.

† Ammianus and others doubted the inundation being caused by rains in Ethiopia. xxii. 15. p. 334.

‡ Probably from passing through some lakes or marsh lands, whence green stagnant water mixed with the stream was brought down to Egypt.

§ Orat. Egypt. vol. ii. p. 363. ‖ Horapollo, i. 21.

God Nilus* both of a red and a blue colour,—indicating the river during the turbid state of the inundation, and the clearness of the low Nile.

In the beginning of August, the canals were again opened, and the waters once more overflowed the plain. That part nearest the desert, being the lowest level, was first inundated; as the bank itself, being the highest, was the last part submerged, except in the Delta, where the levels were more uniform, and where, during the high inundations, the whole land, with the exception of its isolated villages, was under water. As the Nile rose, the peasants were careful to remove the flocks and herds from the lowlands; and when a sudden irruption of the water, owing to the bursting of a dyke, or an unexpected and unusual increase of the river, overflowed the fields and pastures, they were seen hurrying to the spot, on foot, or in boats, to rescue the animals†, and to remove them to the high grounds above the reach of the inundation. Some, tying their clothes upon their heads, dragged the sheep and goats from the water, and put them into boats; others swam the oxen to the nearest high ground; and if any corn or other produce could be cut or torn up by the roots, in time to save it from the flood, it was conveyed on rafts or boats to the next village.

Guards were placed to watch the dykes, which protected the lowlands, and the utmost care was

* *Vide infrà*, Pantheon, on the God Nilus.

† Diodor. i. 36. *Vide* the following woodcut, and Vignette B. Vol. I. p. 40.

taken to prevent any sudden influx of water, which might endanger the produce still growing*

No. 437. *Beni Hassan.*

Part 1. Figs. 1 and 3. Men calling to others to drive the cattle towards the boat. 2. Rower. 4. pulling a cow by a noose to the boat.

Part 2. Fig. 5. driving the cattle towards the boat. 6. throwing a noose, in order to drag them after the boat, (the end of it is effaced). 7. The rowers. 8. A man on the bank fishing.

Cattle rescued from the inundation.

there, the cattle, or the villages. And of such importance was the preservation of the dykes,

* *Vide* Strabo, xv. p. 487.; and *suprà*, Vol. I. p. 242.

that a strong guard of cavalry and infantry was always in attendance for their protection; certain officers of responsibility were appointed to superintend them; large sums of money were annually expended for their maintenance and repairs; and in the time of the Romans, any person found destroying a dyke was condemned to hard labour in the public works or in the mines, or to be branded and transported to the Oasis. According to Strabo *, the system was so admirably managed, "that art contrived sometimes to supply what nature denied, and, by means of canals and embankments, there was little difference in the quantity of land irrigated, whether the inundation was deficient or abundant." If, continues the geographer, it rose only to the height of 8 cubits, the usual idea was that a famine would ensue; 14 being required for a plentiful harvest: but when Petronius was præfect of Egypt, 12 cubits gave the same abundance, nor did they suffer from want even at 8: and it may be supposed that long experience had taught the ancient Egyptians to obtain similar results from the same means, which, neglected at a subsequent period, were revived, rather than, as Strabo thinks, first introduced, by the Romans.

In some parts of Egypt, the villages were frequently liable to be overflowed, when the Nile rose to a more than ordinary height; by which the lives and property of the inhabitants were endangered; and when their crude brick houses had been long exposed to the damp, the foundations

* Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 542.

gave way, and the fallen walls, saturated with water, were once more mixed with the mud from which they had been extracted. On these occasions, the blessings of the Nile entailed heavy losses on the inhabitants; and as Pliny observes*, "if the rise of the water exceeded 16 cubits, a famine was the result, as when it only reached the height of 12." In another place†, he says, "a proper inundation is of 16 cubits . . . . . in 12 cubits, the country suffers from famine, and feels a deficiency even in 13; 14 cause joy, 15 security, 16 delight; the greatest rise of the river to this period being of 18 cubits, in the reign of Claudius; the least, during the Pharsalic war."

From all that can be learnt respecting the rise of the Nile, it is evident that the actual height of the inundation is the same now as in former times, and maintains the same proportion with the land it irrigates; and that, in order to arrive at great accuracy in its measurement, the scales of the Nilometers ought, after certain periods, to be raised in an equal ratio, as may be seen by any one who visits those of Cairo and Elephantine: for the bed of the river gradually rises from time to time; and the level of the land, which always keeps pace with that of the river, increases in a ratio of 6 inches in 100 years in some places (as about Elephantine), and in others less — varying according to the distance down the stream. The consequence, and indeed the proof, of which is, that the highest scale in the Nilometer at the island of Elephantine, which

* Plin. xviii. 18. † Plin. v. 9.

served to measure the inundation in the reigns of the early Roman emperors, is now far below the level of the ordinary high Nile; and the obelisk of Matareeh or Heliopolis, the Colossi of the Theban plain, and other similarly situated monuments, are washed by the waters of the inundation, and imbedded to a certain height in a stratum of alluvial soil deposited around their base.

The continual increase in the elevation of the bed of the river naturally produced those effects mentioned by Herodotus and other writers, who state that the Egyptians were obliged from time to time to raise their towns and villages, in order to secure them from the effects of the inundation; and that the same change in the levels of the Nile and the land took place in former ages, as at the present day, is shown by the fact of Sabaco having found it necessary to elevate the towns throughout the country, which had been previously protected by similar means in the reign of Sesostris, — an interval of about 600 years. This was done, says the historian of Halicarnassus, by the inhabitants of each place, who had been condemned for great crimes to the public works. Bubastis was raised more than any other city; and the lofty mounds of Tel Basta, which mark its site, fully confirm the observation of Herodotus, and show, from the height of those mounds above the present plain, after a lapse of 770 years, that "the Ethiopian monarch elevated the sites of the towns much more than his predecessor Sesostris* had done,"

* Herodot. ii. 137.

when that conqueror employed his Asiatic captives in making the canals of Egypt.*

I have already stated †, that the land about Elephantine has been raised about 9 feet in 1700 years; at Thebes, about 7; and in a less degree towards the Delta and the mouths of the Nile; and I shall now endeavour to explain in what manner the elevations of the land and river have taken place, to compare the measures of the inundation in the ancient and modern Nilometers, and show what effect the alteration in the levels has had on the arable land of Egypt. And as this has been the subject of a memoir I presented to the Geographical Society, I shall extract from it the following remarks: —

In that part of Egypt lying to the S. of the Delta, the banks of the Nile are much more elevated than the land of the interior at a distance from the river, and are seldom quite covered with water even during the highest inundations. Little, however, projects above the level of the stream, and, in some places, the peasant is obliged to keep out the water by temporary embankments. This may be accounted for partly by the continued cultivation of the banks, which, being more conveniently situated for artificial irrigation, have a constant succession of crops; for it is known that tillage has the effect of raising land, from the accumulation of decayed vegetable substances, the addition of dressing, and other causes; and the greater depression of the plain in the interior is

* Herodot. ii. 137. and 108. † Vol. I. p. 9.

probably owing, in some degree, to the numerous channels in that direction, and to the effect of the currents which pass over it as the water covers the land: though they are not sufficient to account for the great difference between the height of the bank and the land near the edge of the desert, which is often 12 or 15 feet, as may be seen from the respective heights of the dykes at those two points.

These elevated roads, the sole mode of communication by land from one village to another, during the inundation, commence on a level with the bank of the river, and, as they extend to the interior, become so much higher than the fields, that room is afforded for the construction of arches to enable the water to pass through them; though, generally speaking, bridges are only built on those parts, where ancient or modern canals have lowered the levels sufficiently to admit of them. The general appearance of the dykes may be illustrated by a section*, in which A is the surface of the Nile during the inundation; B, the level of the low Nile; C, the bank; D D, the raised dyke; E, the beds of canals over which bridges are built in the dyke; F, the *Háger*, or slope of the desert, extending from the junction of the irrigated land at H to the limestone mountains G.

This section is given as if the dyke were in one straight line East or West from the river; but they follow a tortuous course, visiting the various towns on their way, and serving as roads, as well as an

* Plate 18. No. 1.

impediment to the arbitrary overflow of the inundation: the general direction of a dyke, therefore, varying according to circumstances, may be represented as in the accompanying plate.*

It is on a plain of about five miles in breadth.

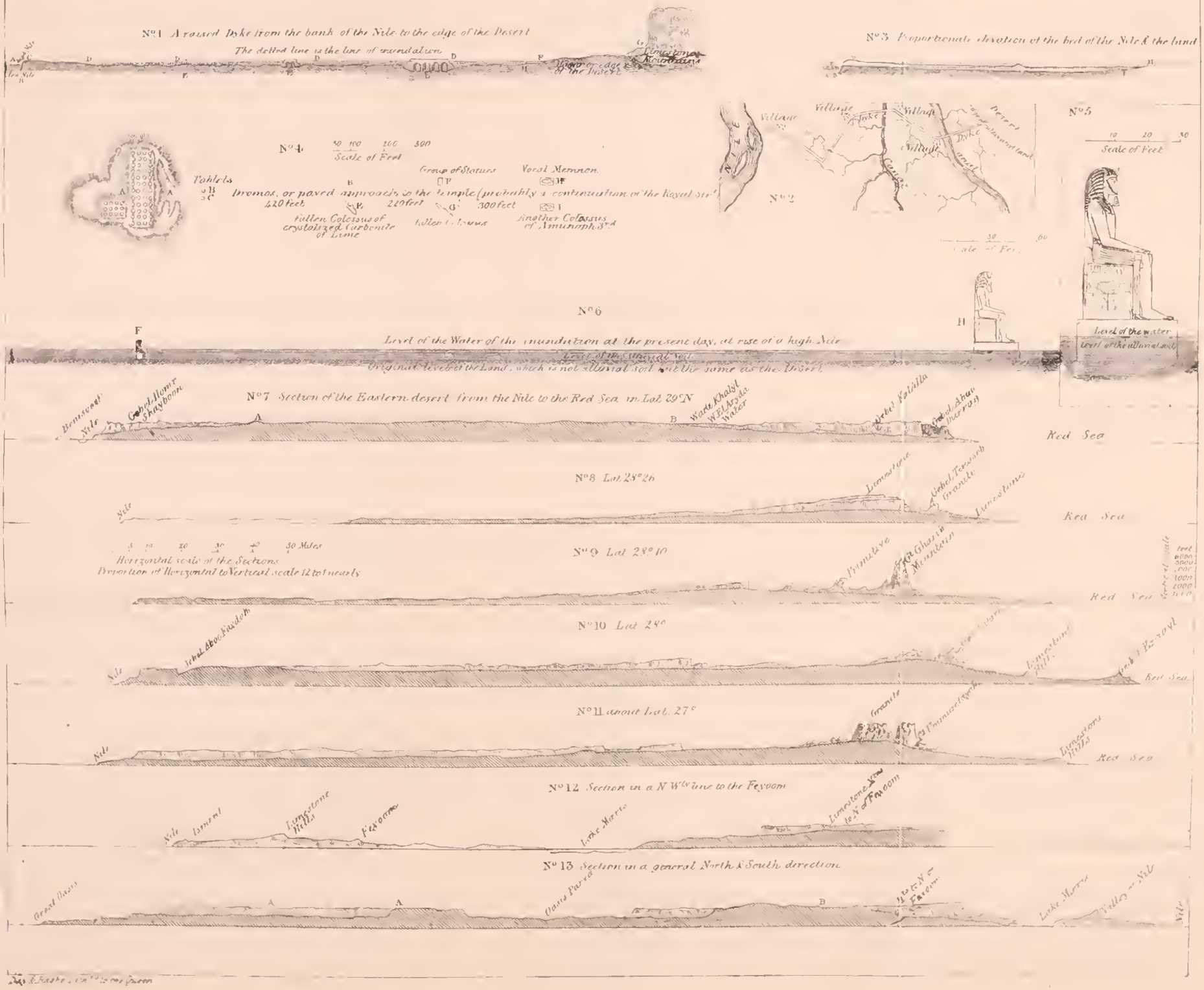
Some dykes are even more circuitous and indirect than this; but, in all cases, the principal care is to place them so as to oppose the greatest force to the largest body or pressure of water, and to offer the readiest means of communication from one village to another.

I have already observed that the perpendicular elevation of the bed of the river, and the proportionate elevation of the water of the inundation, tend to increase the extent of the arable land of Egypt; and that there is now a larger tract of cultivable soil E. and W. from the river, than at any previous period. This I shall endeavour to illustrate by a similar section †, in which it will be seen that if the Nile, rising from its ancient bed A B, inundated the country in the direction and at the elevation E F, it would, when raised to C D, its modern bed (the land being also raised in proportion to G), extend its inundation on the line G H to a far greater distance over the *háger*, or slope of the desert, and give an additional tract of cultivable land from F to H.

That this has actually taken place, I have satisfactorily ascertained by excavations, and by observing the quantity of alluvial deposit accumulated round the base of ancient monuments, and by a

* Plate 18. No. 2. † No. 3.

Sections to illustrate Sir G^dt Wilkinsons paper on the levels of Egypt


N°1 A raised Dyke from the bank of the Nile to the edge of the Desert
The dotted line is the line of undulation
N°3 Proportionate elevation of the bed of the Nile & the land
N°4
Scale of Feet
Tablets
Dromos, or paved approach to the temple (probably a continuation of the Royal Street)
420 feet
220 feet
300 feet
Fallen Colossus of crystalized Carbonate of Lime
Another Colossus of Amunoph 3rd
Vocal Memnon
N°2
Village
Dyke
Desert
N°5
Scale of Feet
level of the water
level of the alluvial soil
N°6
Level of the Water of the inundation at the present day, at rise of 6 high Nile
Original level of the Land, which is not alluvial soil, & the same as the Desert
N°7 Section of the Eastern desert from the Nile to the Red Sea in Lat 29°N
Bir Hammood
Nile
Gebel Homr Shayboon
Wadi Khalyl
W. El Arysh Water
Gebel Kalalla
Gebel Abou Thorosh
Red Sea
N°8 Lat 28°26
Limestone
Gebel Fereish Granite
Limestone
Nile
Red Sea
Horizontal scale of the Sections
Proportion of Horizontal to Vertical scale 12 to 1 nearly
N°9 Lat 28°10
Primitive
Red Ghos in Mountains
Red Sea
N°10 Lat 28°
Schaabboo Wadeih
Limestone Hills
Red Sea
N°11 about lat 27°
Granite
Limestone Hills
Red Sea
N°12 Section in a N W^ly line to the Fayoom
Limestone Hills
Fayoom
Lake Moeris
Limestone Hills to N of Fayoom
N°13 Section in a general North & South direction
Great Oases
Oasis Farafra
Lake Moeris
Valley of the Nile
Nile

comparison of the height to which the water now rises and formerly rose in the Nilometer of Elephantine. In the plain of Thebes are some colossal statues of Amunoph III., of which two still occupy their original site, and one of these has long been known under the name of the "*Vocal Memnon.*" They stood on either side of the *dromos* leading to a temple built by that Pharaoh, and at intervals between them and the temple were other colossi, statues, and tablets, long since thrown down or mutilated, and nearly covered by the alluvial deposits of the inundation. Their relative position may be better understood from the plan *, where it will be seen that before the temple A, are the tablets B, C, and 420 feet beyond are the fragments of a colossus E; then at a distance of 220 feet are another fallen colossus G, and, as a pendant to it, a group of comparatively small figures, cut out of a single block, at F; the colossi H, I, which are still standing, being 300 feet farther, and appearing to terminate the *dromos*.

The temple is now surrounded by alluvial soil, and the water and mud of the inundation extend to the distance of 600 feet behind it. But when erected, about the year 1420 B. C., not only the body of the temple, but the *dromos*, or paved road leading to it, as well as the base of the colossi H, I, were above the reach of the inundation; and the statues at F, which are still erect in their original position, were exposed to view, though now buried to their waist in the alluvial deposit.

* Plate 18. No. 4.

Indeed, I believe this dromos to have been a continuation of the "Royal street" mentioned in some papyri found at Thebes, which, crossing the western portion of the city, communicated, by means of a ferry, with the temple of Luxor, founded by the same Amunoph, on the other side of the river; as the great dromos of Sphinxes, connecting the temples of Luxor and Karnak, formed the main street in the eastern district of Thebes. The colossi H, I are 47 ft.* high, with the pedestal 60; but the alluvial deposit has accumulated around them to the height of from 6 ft. 10 in. to 7 ft., so that they now stand only 53 ft. above the plain.† This was ascertained by excavating to the base of the pedestal; and having penetrated beneath it, I found that it stood, not on alluvial ground, but on the soil of the desert, which was paved with sandstone blocks, serving as substructions for the colossus and the *dromos*. The lower side of the pedestal had not been cut smooth, but was left of a round irregular shape, extending 3 ft. 10 in. below the level of the paved dromos; but that was of little importance: the main point was to ascertain whether the slope of the dromos corresponded with that of the desert; and this I proceeded to examine. I therefore dug to the base of what I supposed to be part of a similar colossus at F, 300 ft. behind the colossus H.‡ This, however, proved to be a group

* By sextant I make the western colossus 47 ft.; and the other, by actual measurement, 47 ft. 9 in. *Vide* Plate 18. No. 5.

† The ground has sunk at the base, and the statue inclines a little to one side, so that it is difficult to ascertain the exact height of the pedestal. *See* Plate.

‡ *Vide* Plate 18. No. 6.

of statues, —a circumstance particularly fortunate for my purpose, as they were found to be standing in their original position. Their total height was 8 ft. 1 in. from the base of the pedestal to the top of the shoulder, the part above that being broken off; they projected 2 ft. 10 in. above the level of the alluvial deposit, so that it had accumulated in this part only 5 ft. 3 in. This satisfactorily settled the question I had in view, and gave, in a distance of 300 ft., a difference of 1 ft. 7 in. to 1 ft. 9 in., being an average of 20 in. in 300 ft., or a decreasing ratio of 1 in. in 15 ft. for the talus of the sloping desert plain, on which they were placed.

According to this ratio, the basement of the temple itself should stand very little below the level of the alluvial deposit, which, indeed, agrees with fact; though, as may be supposed, the slope of the desert is not quite so uniform as to accord with the mathematical calculation of an uninterrupted line. It suffices for our purpose to have ascertained that this gradual slope does exist, and that the colossi and the temple standing upon it are buried in alluvial deposit in an inverse ratio as they approach the edge of the desert; and the only inference necessarily is, that the alluvial soil now reaches farther inland towards the desert than it did when those monuments were erected. We do not know how far the outermost colossi were, at that time, beyond the line of the alluvial deposit; all we can conclude is, that they were *above* its level, and that the *dromos*, or paved street, was also *above* the highest water mark: but if it is out of our

power to fix any exact point from which to calculate the annual increase of the perpendicular stratum of land, of this we may at least be certain,—that all the deposit now existing between the colossi H, I, and the edge of the desert behind the temple, a total distance of 1900 feet, has been brought there since the reign of the third Amunoph, or within a period of 3260 years.

What has now been said, fully, I trust, demonstrates these propositions; — that the perpendicular rise of the bed of the Nile extends the inundation and alluvial deposit much farther in a horizontal direction E. and W. at the present day, than at any previous period; that this cause has always been in operation; and that therefore a wider extent of irrigated land now exists, than in former times. I do not, however, pretend that the same quantity of land is cultivated as formerly: this must always depend on the population, the energies of the people, the system followed by the government, and other accidental circumstances: but it is not the fault of the river, nor from any deficiency in the benefits it used to bestow on the soil of Egypt, that much land is left fallow, and overgrown with noxious weeds; and the modern inhabitants might profit by the same means of cultivating the edge of the desert by artificial irrigation, as their predecessors, if Egypt only possessed the advantages of population, a favourable system of agriculture, and a wise government.

I have made the same observations respecting the extent of the land in other parts of Egypt, all

confirming what I have stated, as might be reasonably expected, since the same causes necessarily produce the same effects; and I now proceed to show the origin of those erroneous notions which proclaim that the drifting sands have curtailed the limits of the arable land of Egypt, and that the desert constantly encroaching on the soil threatens to overwhelm the valley of the Nile, and already counteracts the beneficial effects of the inundation.*

In some parts of Egypt, as at Bahnasa, at Kerdassy, a little to the N. of the Pyramids, at Werdan, and at a few other places, the sand of the Libyan desert has been drifted into the valley, and has encumbered the land with hillocks and downs, spreading itself over the fields near the edge of the desert, and sometimes burying trees and buildings to the depth of several feet. This has been particularly the case about Bahnasa; and Denon, who visited it and witnessed the effect of the sand in that quarter, spread the alarm of its invasion, which has been magnified into the annihilation of the arable land of Egypt. But this evil is only partial, and, as M. Reynier observes, in a memoir upon the agriculture of Egypt, published in the great French work†, "though many have spoken of the encroachments of the sand upon the cultivable soil, it appears to be much less considerable than is supposed; for otherwise many places indicated by ancient writers to have been on the borders of the desert, would now be distant from

* *Vide* Vol. I. p. 221.

† Mémoires sur l'Egypte, vol. iv. p. 5.

the irrigated land, and the canal of Joseph, after so many ages of bad government, would have been long since filled up." In some places, he adds, this has happened, as at Werdan in the province of Geezeh, where the sand has advanced to the distance of a league; but the position of the place,—at the outlet of a gorge in the Libyan Mountains,—is perhaps partly the cause of this: an opinion which perfectly coincides with my own observations. In many places where valleys open upon the plain, the sand is found to accumulate, and sometimes to form drifts upon the land, which, when no precautions are taken, by planting the bushy tamarisk, increase so far as to prevent the overflow of the Nile from covering a portion of the previously irrigated soil; but these incursions of sand are only partial, and in particular spots, bearing a very small proportion to the whole valley of Egypt; and it must be remembered that the desert, or gradual slope of the *háger*, between the limestone range and the arable land, is not a plain of moving sand, as some have imagined, but is composed of clay and stony ground mixed with a proportion of sand, or an old detritus of the neighbouring rocks. On the eastern side of the valley, very few sand drifts are to be met with, except those seen from Cairo, beyond Heliopolis and the Birket el Hag, or the Suez road: but these do not encroach upon the arable land, from which they are far distant: and since I have shown that on the W., or Libyan, side also, the places where sand encumbers the valley are partial, it may be readily imagined how slight an effect these must

have, compared with the whole extent of the country. In the Delta, the only sandy places of consequence are here and there on the Libyan shore, and on the coast of the Mediterranean, bearing an imperceptible proportion to the whole superficies of that province; and, indeed, the sand on the coast is not worthy of notice, nor can it be attributed in any way to the advance of the desert upon the land of Egypt.

In many countries, — as in France, about Dunkerque, the Landes, and other places; in Scotland, about Nairn; and in several parts of Europe, — sand drifts occur of great size and extent; but the same theories are not formed upon their aggressions; and we have in this, a proof how far opinions are influenced by the name and by the idea of a desert.

I am far from affirming that no encroachment of the sand takes place; my arguments are only intended to show, that, taking into consideration the relative advance of the sand, and of the alluvial deposit, the balance is greatly in favour of the latter; and the result is, that whatever partial injury the sand may have it in its power to inflict on certain spots, the extent of the land is constantly increasing, and the number of square miles of inundated arable soil is much greater now than at any previous period.

I must also make some remarks on the nature of the desert, which will be found to differ much from received opinion; as the simple mention of ranges of primitive mountains reaching an elevation

of 5000 feet will suffice to show. I allude now to the desert lying between the Nile and Red Sea; but in order to give a just notion of this tract, and the nature of the mountains in various parts, I must refer to my map*, and to the accompanying sections in different latitudes.

The leading characteristic of the Eastern desert, particularly in the northern part, is its gradual ascent from the valley of the Nile to a certain distance eastward, where you arrive at a plain nearly level, and of some extent, from which all the valleys or torrents running in a westerly direction empty themselves into the Nile, and those to the eastward into the Red Sea, following a descent in the opposite direction to the coast. A section taken E. and W., about latitude 29°, will explain the appearance of the desert in that part.†

These are all limestone mountains. The ascent from the Nile to A is about 30 miles; the high plain A B is about 16 miles broad; the descent then commences towards the Red Sea, which is about 50 miles distant.

In that part where the primitive range commences, and joins the secondary hills, about latitude 28° 26′, the section E. and W. presents the appearance given in the next figure of the plate.‡

In latitude 28° 10′, passing by the lofty Gharib, which is the highest peak in this desert, having an elevation of about 6000 feet, the section is of a different character.§

* This will be published by Mr. J. Arrowsmith early next spring.
† *Vide* Plate 18. No. 7. ‡ *Vide* No. 8. § *Vide* No. 9.

Another section is taken in latitude 28° from Gebel E' Zayt, on the Red Sea, to Gebel Aboo Faẏda on the Nile. *

The last of those in the Eastern desert, in latitude 27° †, crosses the great range of the Ummumfaẏah, which is about 5000 feet high.

From a comparison of which it appears that this desert has one general character in its levels from the Nile to the Red Sea.

A little above Esneh, about latitude 25° 10′, the sandstones approach the Nile on the East bank; a little farther South they cross the river, near Edfoo, whence they continue on either bank; and at Silsilis are the quarries from which the sandstone used in the temples of Egypt was taken. Fourteen miles above Ombos, and on the eastern bank, the granites appear; and at Esouan, 14 miles farther S., they cross the river. Amidst these are the cataracts, a succession of rapids, of which no single fall is more than about five feet.

In Nubia, the valley is very narrow; the rocks of the eastern and western mountains often coming close to the river, and leaving little or no space for the deposit of alluvium: in other places on the Libyan side, the sand covers the whole level space between the hills and the bank; and the character of the country between the first and second cataract is totally different from Egypt. The river about Kalabshe rises between 30 and 40 feet during the inundation; and after it has subsided, in February,

* Plate 18. No. 10. † No. 11.

the stream runs at the rate of two or three knots an hour. But I return to the deserts of Egypt.

In going to the western or Libyan desert, in the direction of the Oasis Parva, one road passes by the Fyoóm; which province is considerably lower than the valley of the Nile, and the Lake Mœris is about 100 or 120 feet below the level of the banks at Benisooef. I have given a section across that part of the country from the Nile to the mountain range lying behind the Lake Mœris*; and thence to the Oases: from which it is evident, that on leaving the Fyoóm in a southerly direction, or in going from the Nile westward, you gradually ascend till you arrive at the summit of an elevated plain, which continues on a level, or with slight undulations, for a considerable distance, and forms the extensive table land of this part of Africa. The Oases and other valleys are depressions in this lofty plain; and, on descending to them, you find the level space or plain of the Oasis itself similar to a portion of the Valley of Egypt, surrounded by steep cliffs of limestone, at some distance from the cultivated land, which vary in height in the different Oases. Those of the Southern Oases are much higher, and consequently the level of those Oases is much lower than of the Oasis Parva, as may be seen from the last section, taken N. and S.†

From this it appears that the water of the Oasis Parva does not come directly from the Nile, and that we must look for the origin of its springs at a more

* *Vide* Plate 18. No. 12. † *Vide* No. 13.

southerly point. The mountains of the high plain are limestone; the low plain of the Oases is sandstone on clay; and it is from this last that the water rises, and by this it is retained. The limestone mountains of the Thebaïd rest in like manner on clay; and thus we may conclude that the water is conveyed from some point to the South of, and at a greater elevation than, the Oasis, its escape to the surface taking place wherever the limestone superstratum is removed; and that a continuation of the same bed of clay conducts it northward to the Oasis Parva, — occasional opportunities being afforded it for rising, as at Farafreh, and other places on the way.

Though I have represented the mountains, as if the table land of their summit were perfectly level, in order to show the comparative depressions of the Oases, it is not to be supposed that they are perfectly horizontal: if so, those of Lower Egypt would be more elevated than in the Thebaïd, which is not the case; the mountains of Thebes being 1200 feet above the Nile, which is a much greater elevation than any in the latitude of Cairo.

From what has been said, it is evident that the Oases are not fertile spots in the midst of a sandy plain, but depressions in the lofty table land of Africa, where, by the removal of the superincumbent limestone strata, the water has the power of rising to the surface; nor is the desert a dreary plain of sand, which has overwhelmed a once fertile country, whose only traces are the isolated gardens of the Oases; where the traveller

runs a risk of being overwhelmed by sand, as the army of Cambyses was reported to have been.* The notion is of old date, from Herodotus to the modern traveller who confines his experience to the valley of the Nile; and if Strabo were listened to, it would require some degree of courage to visit the site of Memphis, lest, as he observes, the imprudent stranger should expose himself to "the danger of being overtaken by a whirlwind on his way." †

Strabo, *like other travellers*, must have braved great dangers during his voyage; the ancients were alarmed at the sand, and wondrous monsters; and we now often read of narrow escapes from the effects of a *simoóm:* but however disagreeable this really is, and though caravans run the risk of losing their way if incautious enough to continue their route in its dense fog of dust, and consequently to perish in this waterless region, the very unpleasant death, it has been reported to cause, is an exaggeration; and, speaking from the experience of many a violent simoóm in the most sandy parts of the desert, I can only say that it is bad enough without being exaggerated, but that it is much more frightful in a book of travels than in the country itself.

A remarkable feature in the Valley of Egypt, which must strike every one who crosses the edge of the alluvial land, is the line of demarcation between this and the desert, which is so strongly

* *Ammon*, *sand*, and the *dust* of the Pharaohs being united against it.
† Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 555.

defined, that you may almost step with one foot upon the richest, and with the other on the most barren land; for, as Strabo says, all is sterile in Egypt where the Nile does not reach; but it only requires to be irrigated by the fertilising water of the river, to become productive; as the flower of the female plant only awaits the pollen of the male, to cause it to produce, —an idea analogous to the fable of Osiris (as the inundation) approaching the bed of Isis (the soil it irrigates), or more properly of Nepthys (the barren land), who also produced a son on being visited by Osiris.

Besides the land inundated by the Nile, the ancient Egyptians took into cultivation a considerable portion of the *Háger*, or edge of the desert, which, being a light soil, consisting of clay mixed with sand or gravel, was peculiarly adapted for certain produce, particularly bulbous plants; and many with long fibrous roots were found to thrive in that soil. Those parts where a greater proportion of gravel prevailed, were peculiarly adapted to the culture of the vine; and we are not surprised to find that the wines of Anthylla, Mareotis, and other places situated at the confines of the desert, were superior in quality to those from the interior of the irrigated land. In some places, as in the Fyoóm, where little change has taken place in the appearance of the surface of the land, I have frequently observed the traces of former cultivation: even the vestiges of fields appear, with channels for water, far above the level of all modern canals; and in the vicinity of the Lake Mœris are

several watercourses and canals, with the roots of vines and other trees, which are distant more than twelve miles from the nearest irrigated land. I do not pretend to affirm that these are actually of the early time of the Pharaohs; but they doubtless owe their origin to the system of cultivating the *háger* adopted by the ancient Egyptians, and this extensive culture of the vine is at least prior to the Arab invasion. Indeed, by the universal confession of the inhabitants themselves, no canals or cultivation have been maintained in this spot within the period of Moslem records; and tradition asserts that the province of Fyoóm, which now contains about eighty villages, had once more than four times that number, in the flourishing periods of the Pharaonic Kings.

FESTIVALS OF THE PEASANTRY.

During the inundation, when the Nile had been admitted by the canals into the interior, and the fields were subjected to the fertilising influence of its waters, the peasantry indulged in various amusements which this leisure period gave them time to enjoy.* Their cattle were housed, and supplied with dry food, which had been previously prepared for the purpose; the tillage of the land and all agricultural occupations were suspended; and this season was celebrated as a harvest home, with games and recreations of every kind. They indulged in feasting and the luxuries of the table;

* Diodor. i. 36.

games were celebrated in some of the principal towns, in which the competitors contended for prizes of cattle, skins, and other things suited to the taste or wants of the peasant, and some amused themselves with wrestling-matches, bull-fights, and gymnastic exercises; which, while they suited the habits of an active and robust people, contributed to invigorate them, and to prevent the baneful effects of indolence during a period of repose from the labours of the field. According to Julius Pollux *, the Song of Maneros was among those adopted by the Egyptian peasant; and this fabled personage was celebrated as the inventor of husbandry, — an honour generally given to the still more fabulous Osiris. It is probable that many songs and games were appropriated to certain festivals; and this adaptation of peculiar ceremonies to particular occasions, and the aversion of the Egyptians for any change in the customs of their ancestors, are remarked by several ancient writers.†

They had many festivals connected with agriculture and the produce of the soil, which happened at different periods of the year. In the month Mesoré, they offered the firstfruits of their lentils to the God Harpocrates, "calling out at the same time, 'The tongue is Fortune, the tongue is God‡;" and the allegorical festival of "the delivery of Isis was celebrated immediately after the Vernal

* Jul. Poll. iv. 7. . . . . ασμα ὡς Αιγυπτων, "Μανερως . . . . Μανερως γεωργιας ευρετης, Μουσων μαθητης."

† *Vide* Herodot. ii. 79.

‡ Plut. de Is. s. 68.

Equinox*," to commemorate the beginning of harvest. "Some," says Plutarch, "assimilate the history of those Gods to the various changes which happen in the air, during the several seasons of the year, or to those accidents which are observed in the production of corn, in its sowing and ripening; 'for,' they observe, 'what can the burial of Osiris more aptly signify, than the first covering the seed in the ground after it is sown? or his reviving and reappearing, than its first beginning to shoot up? and why is Isis said, upon perceiving herself to be with child, to have hung an amulet about her neck on the 6th of the month Phaophi, soon after sowing time, but in allusion to this allegory? and who is that Harpocrates, whom they tell us she brought forth about the time of the winter *tropic*, but those weak and slender shootings of the corn, which are yet feeble and imperfect?'—for which reason it is, that the firstfruits of their lentils are dedicated to this God, and they celebrate the feast of his mother's delivery just after the vernal equinox." From this it may be inferred that the festival of the lentils was instituted when the month Mesoré coincided with the end of March; for since they were sown at the end of November, and ripened in about 100 or 110 days, the firstfruits might be gathered in three months and a half, or, as Plutarch tells us, "just after the vernal equinox," or the last week in March. It is not stated on what day of Mesoré this festival took place; we can, therefore, only arrive at an approximate calculation respect-

* Plut. de Is. s. 65.

ing the period when it was first instituted; which, supposing it to have fallen in the middle of the month, will carry it back 2650 years before our era, 330 years before the accession of Menes. "On the 19th day of the first month (Thoth), which was the feast of Hermes *, they eat honey and figs, saying to each other, 'how sweet a thing is truth!'" —a satisfactory proof that the month itself, and not the first day alone†, was called after and dedicated to Thoth, the Egyptian Hermes; and another festival, answering to the "Thesmophoria of the Athenians," was established to commemorate the period when "the husbandmen began to sow their corn, in the Egyptian month Athyr."‡

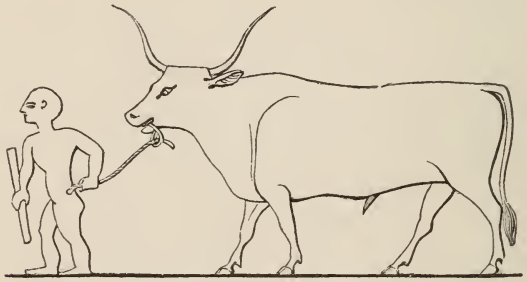
Many of the sacred festivals of the Egyptians were connected with agriculture; but these I shall have occasion to notice under the head of their religious ceremonies.

REARING OF ANIMALS.

I now proceed to another point connected with the occupations of the peasantry, — the care and rearing of animals. The rich proprietors of land possessed a large stock of sheep, goats, and cattle; gazelles, and other wild animals of the desert, were tamed and reared with great care on their estates; and they bestowed the greatest attention to the breed of horses, asses, and other beasts of burthen. The pastors, it is true, were a class apart from the peasantry, and one which was held in disrepute

* Plut. s. 68. † *Vide suprà*, p. 16. ‡ Plut. s. 69.

by the Egyptians, partly in consequence of the nature of their occupation, and partly from the feeling excited against them by the remembrance of cruelties exercised upon their country by a shepherd race*, which had held Egypt in subjection during a long period; and the swineherds were looked upon with such abhorrence, that Herodotus affirms they could not even enter a temple, or contract marriages with any other of their countrymen.† But the denomination of pastors did not extend to the farmers who bred sheep or cattle; it merely applied to those who tended the flocks, or had their immediate care: and the Egyptian artists, as if to show the contempt in which these people were held, frequently represented them lame or deformed, dirty and unshaven, and sometimes of a most ludicrous appearance.



No. 438. A deformed oxherd. *Tombs near the Pyramids.*

This feeling, however, was not carried to the extent mentioned by Josephus‡, who asserts that "the Egyptians were prohibited to meddle with the feeding of sheep;" and the sculptures of

* *Vide* Vol. II. p. 16. † Vol. I. p. 239.
‡ Joseph. Antiq. ii. 7. 5.

Thebes, and every part of Upper and Lower Egypt, abundantly prove them to have kept numerous flocks and herds, which were tended by native Egyptians. Their condition was humble; they lived in sheds* made of reeds, easily moved from place to place, which continued to be used by them to the time of Diodorus, as they are by the Ababdeh tribe, a pastoral race, in the upper part of the Thebaïd, to the present day; and it is probable that parts of Egypt peculiarly adapted for pasture were inhabited by large bodies of native shepherds, distinct from those employed by rich individuals upon their own farms.

In the extensive domains of wealthy landed proprietors, those who tended the flocks and herds were overlooked by other persons connected with the estate. The peasant, who tilled the land on which they were fed, was responsible for their proper maintenance, and for the exact account of the quantity of food they consumed; some persons were exclusively employed in the care of the sick, which were kept at home in the farmyard; the superintendent of the shepherds regulated the different arrangements connected with them, determined respecting those which were to graze in the field, and those which were to be stall-fed†, and attended at stated periods to give a report to the scribes belonging to the estate, by whom it was submitted to the steward; and the latter was responsible to his employer for this as well as every other portion of his possessions.

* Diodor. i. 43.

† *Vide suprà*, p. 96.

In the accompanying woodcut, the head shepherd presents himself to give an account of the

No. 439. Giving an account to the scribes of the stock on the estate. *Thebes.*

Before fig. 1. is the sachel, and above fig. 2. the box for holding writing implements and papyri. They are writing on boards: in their left hands are the inkstands with black and red ink.

stock upon the estate, and behind him are the flocks committed to his charge, consisting of sheep, goats, and wild animals belonging to the person of the tomb, in which this subject is represented; and the expressive attitude of this figure, with his hand to his mouth, is well imagined to convey the idea of his endeavour to recollect the numbers he is giving from memory to the scribes.

The shepherds on the estate were chosen by the steward, who ascertained their character and skill, previous to their being appointed to so important a trust; as is shown to have been done in the case of the Israelites, on their arrival in the land of Goshen; Pharaoh expressly commanding Joseph, whom he had made superintendent "over all the land of Egypt," to select from among his brethren such

as were skilful in the management of the flocks or herds, and "make them rulers over his cattle."*

The cattle were brought into a court attached

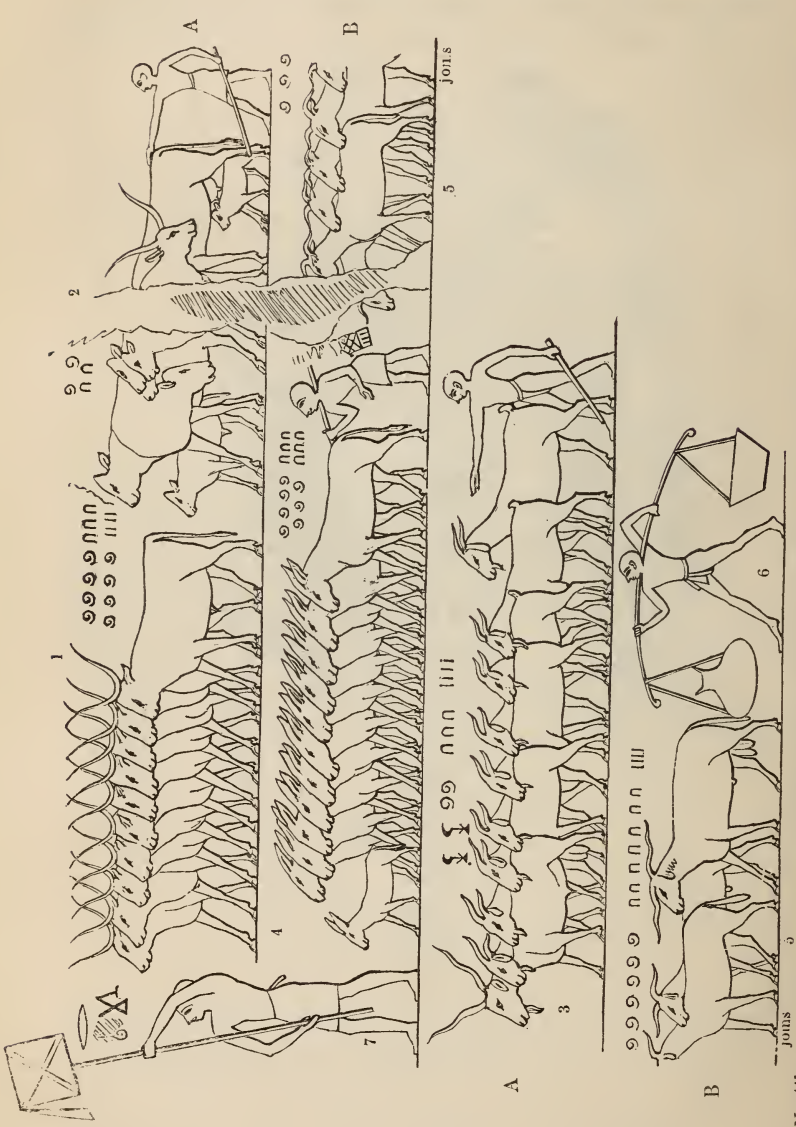
No. 440. Herdsmen giving an account of the cattle. *British Museum — from Thebes.*

Fig. 1. Herdsmen giving an account to the scribe, 3.
2. Another doing obeisance to the master of the estate, or to the scribe.
4. Other herdsmen.
5. The driver of the cattle, carrying a rope in his hand.
6. bowing and giving his report to the scribe, 7., over whom is the usual sachel, and two boxes.

to the steward's house, or into the farmyard, and counted by the superintendent in the presence of

* Gen. xlvii. 6.

the scribes. Every care was taken to prevent or



No. 441. *In a Tomb near the Pyramids.*

Cattle, goats, asses, and sheep, with their numbers over them.

Fig. 1. The number 834 over long horned oxen. Fig. 2. 220 cows with calves. Fig. 3. 3234 goats. Fig. 4. 760 asses. Fig. 5. 974 sheep.
Fig. 7. gives in the account to the steward of the estate.
In the original, the two upper lines join the two lower ones at A and B.

detect frauds, and the bastinado was freely * administered, whenever the peasant or the shepherd neglected the animals entrusted to their care.

The accompanying woodcuts fully illustrate the mode of bringing the cattle; and the last is particularly interesting, from the numbers being written over the animals, answering, no doubt, to the report made to the steward, who, in the presence of the master of the estate, receives it from the head shepherd. First come the oxen, over which is the number 834, cows 220, goats 3234, asses 760, and sheep 974; behind which follows a man carrying the young lambs in baskets slung upon a pole. The steward, leaning on his staff, and accompanied by his dog, stands on the left of the picture; and in another part of the tomb, the scribes are represented making out the statements presented to them by the different persons employed on the estate. The tomb where this subject occurs, is hewn in the rock near the Pyramids of Geezeh, and possesses additional interest from its great antiquity, having the name† of a king who lived about the era of the founders of those monuments, as well as from the subjects it contains, which show the Egyptians to have had the same customs at that early time, and to have arrived at the same state of civilisation as in the subsequent ages of the 18th and later dynasties,—a fact which cannot but suggest most interesting thoughts to an

* *Vide* Vol. II. p. 41., where the keepers of oxen are bastinadoed for neglecting the animals.

† Given in Vol. III. p. 278. Woodcut, No. 380. *fig.* 4.

inquiring mind, respecting the state of the world at that remote period.

An account of the geese and other fowl was also brought to the steward at the same time; and so scrupulous were they in the returns made to him, that the number of eggs was even ascertained

No. 442. Geese brought and numbered. *British Museum—from Thebes.*

Fig. 1. A scribe. 2. Men bringing eggs in baskets. 3. One of the feeders of geese. 4. Table on which are baskets containing eggs, and flowers. 5. The scribe reading the account before the steward or master of the estate, written on a papyrus he holds in his hands. 6. Man bringing the goslings in baskets. 7. The feeders of the geese doing obeisance; others seated in an attitude of respect; and, 8. bowing as he brings up the geese with their young, 9. A large flock of geese brought by others, 10, 11, 12.

and reported, with the same care as the calves, or the offspring of the flocks.

Every thing in Egypt was done by writing. Scribes were employed on all occasions, whether to settle public or private questions, and no bargain of any consequence was made without being sanctioned by the vouchure of a written document.

The art of curing disease in animals of every kind, both quadrupeds and birds, was carried to great perfection by the Egyptians; and the authority of ancient writers and of the sculptures is curiously confirmed by a discovery of the learned Cuvier, who, finding the left *humerus* of a mummied ibis fractured, and reunited in a particular manner, proved the intervention of human art.

The skill they possessed, says Diodorus *, in rearing animals, was the result of knowledge inherited from their parents, and subsequently improved by their own observation, their whole lives being occupied in this pursuit; and the information handed down to them respecting the best mode of treating cattle when ill, and their proper food at all times, was increased not only by the improvements arising from continued experience, but by the emulation common to all men. "What most excites our wonder," adds the historian, "and deserves the greatest praise, is the industry shown by the rearers of fowls and geese, who, not contented with the course of natural procreation known in other countries, hatch an infinite number of birds by an artificial process. Dispensing with the incubation of the hens, they

* Diodor. i. 74.

with their own hands bring the eggs to maturity; and the young chickens thus produced are not inferior in any respect to those hatched by natural means."*

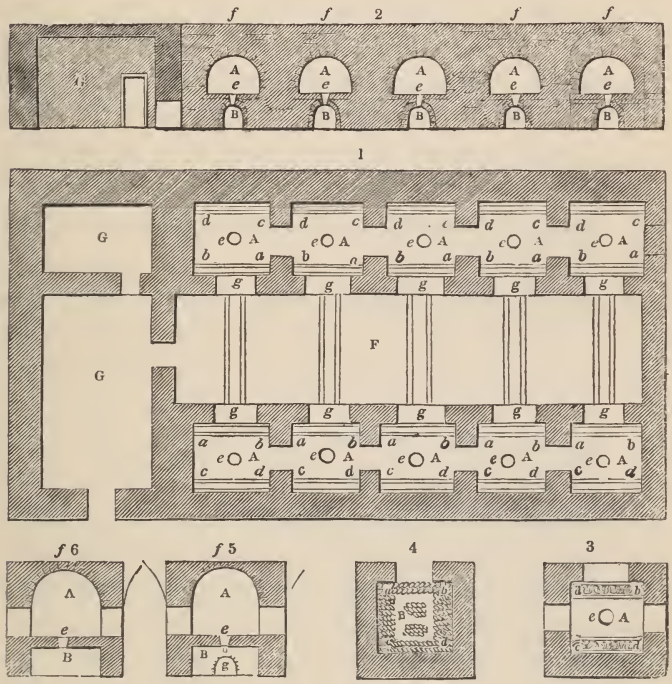
This artificial contrivance has been handed down to the present day, and continues to be employed by the modern inhabitants of Egypt, particularly the Copts, who may be considered to have the best claim to the title of descendants of the ancient Egyptians. I have given an account of it in a former work†; but as it has now an increased interest from being again introduced into England, I shall insert it here in connection with the pastors and poulterers of ancient Egypt.

The custom is for the proprietors of the ovens to make the round of the villages in the vicinity, to collect the eggs from the peasants, and to give them in charge to the rearers, who, without any previous examination, place all they receive on mats strewed with bran, in a room about 11 feet square, with a flat roof, and about 4 feet in height, over which is another chamber of the same size, with a vaulted roof, and about 9 feet high; a small aperture in the centre of the vault (at *f*) admitting light during the warm weather, and another (*e*) of larger diameter, immediately below, communicating with the oven, through whose ceiling it is pierced. By this also the man descends to observe the eggs: but in the cold season both are closed, and a lamp is kept burning within;

* Conf. Plin. x. 54.

† Egypt and Thebes, p. 246.

another entrance at the front part of the oven, or lower room, being then used for the same purpose, and shut immediately on his quitting it. By way of distinction, I call the vaulted (A) the upper room, and the lower one (B) the oven. In the



No. 443. Modern ovens for hatching eggs.

Fig. 1. Plan of the building, showing the form of the upper rooms A A, the entrance room G G, and the passage F. At *a a* are the fires. *c c* the aperture communicating with the oven.
2. Section of the same, showing the upper rooms A and B.
3. Plan of upper room, in which the fires are placed at *a b*, and *c d*.
4. Lower room, in which the eggs are placed.
5, 6. Sections, from the back and front of the upper and lower rooms A and B.

former are two fires in the troughs *a b*, and *c d*, which, based with earthen slabs, three quarters of an inch thick, reach from one side to the other,

against the front and back walls. These fires are lighted twice a day: the first dies away about midday; and the second, lighted at 3 P.M., lasts until 8 o'clock. In the oven, the eggs are placed on mats strewed with bran, in two lines corresponding to, and immediately below, the fires *a b* and *c d*, where they remain half a day. They are then removed to *a c* and *b d*; and others (from two heaps in the centre) are arranged at *a b* and *c d*, in their stead; and so on, till all have taken their equal share of the warmest positions; to which each set returns again and again, in regular succession, till the expiration of six days.

They are then held up, one by one, towards a strong light; and if the eggs appear clear, and of an uniform colour, it is evident they have not succeeded; but if they show an opaque substance within, or the appearance of different shades, the chickens are already formed; and they are returned to the oven for four more days, their positions being changed as before. At the expiration of the four days they are removed to another oven, over which, however, are no fires. Here they lie for five days in one heap, the apertures (*e*,*f*) and the door (*g*) being closed with tow to exclude the air; after which they are placed separately about one or two inches apart, over the whole surface of the mats, which are sprinkled with a little bran. They are at this time continually turned, and shifted from one part of the mats to another, during six or seven days, all air being carefully excluded; and are constantly examined by one of the rearers, who

applies each singly to his upper eyelid. Those which are cold prove the chickens to be dead, but warmth greater than the human skin is the favourable sign of their success.

At length the chicken, breaking its egg, gradually comes forth: and it is not a little curious to see some half exposed and half covered by the shell; while they chirp in their confinement, which they evince the greatest eagerness to quit.

The total number of days is generally twenty-one, but some eggs with a thin shell remain only eighteen. The average of those that succeed is two thirds, which are returned by the rearers to the proprietors, who restore to the peasants one half of the chickens; the other being kept as payment for their expenses.

The size of the building depends, of course, on the means or speculation of the proprietors: but the general plan is usually the same; being a series of eight or ten ovens and upper rooms, on either side of a passage about 100 feet by 15, and 12 in height. The thermometer in any part is not less than 24° Reaum. (86° Fahr.*); but the average heat in the ovens does not reach the temperature of fowls, which is 32° Reaum.

Excessive heat or cold are equally prejudicial to this process; and the only season of the year at which they succeed is from the 15th of Imsheer (23d of February) to the 15th of Baramoodeh

* Mr. Hamilton mentions the heat of 88° Fahr. (To reduce Reaumur to Fahrenheit, multiply by 9, divide by 4, and add 32° — the freezing point).

(24th of April), beyond which time they can scarcely reckon upon more than two or three in a hundred.

The great care bestowed by the shepherd on the breed of sheep, was attended with no less important results. They were twice shorn, and twice brought forth lambs, in the course of a year *; — a circumstance fully proved by modern experience, whenever sufficient care is taken by the shepherd. But though Diodorus is perfectly correct in this part of his statement, he seems to be in error respecting the nature of the pasture on which they were fed, when he suggests that the mere accidental produce of the land after the inundation sufficed for this purpose; for it is far more reasonable to suppose, that formerly, as at the present day, they were supplied with particular food cultivated expressly for them; and from his referring to the period of the inundation, we may suggest that his remark was founded on the fact of their growing clover for the flocks and herds at that season, as is still the custom in Egypt.

Those who exercised the veterinary art were of the class of shepherds. They took the utmost care of the animals, providing them with proper food, which they gave them with the hand, and preparing for them whatever medicine they required, which they forced into their mouths. Their medical aid was not confined to oxen and sheep; it extended also to the oryx, and other animals of the desert, they tamed or bred in the farmyard †;

* Diodor. i. 36. † Vol. III. p. 8. *et seq.* to p. 81.

No. 444. Herdsmen and poulterers treating sick animals and geese. *Beni Hassan.*

Fig. 1. feeding a sick goose.
2. In the original, this figure shows more skill in the drawing than is usual in Egyptian sculpture.
3. feeding an oryx.
4, 5. Treatment of goats. The foreleg is tied up to prevent the animal rising while the medicine is administered to it.
7. forces a ball of medicated food taken from the vase before him into the ox's mouth.

and the poulterers bestowed the same care upon the geese and fowls. Indeed, the numerous herds of the ibex, gazelle, oryx, and other of the antelope tribe, show, equally with their advancement in veterinary art, the great attention paid to the habits of animals: the wild and timid antelopes were rendered so tame as to be driven to the census in the farmyard, like the sheep and goats; and the fowlers were no less successful in their mode of rearing the *vulpanser* geese, and other wild fowl of the Nile.

No. 439. Giving an account to the scribes of the stock on the estate. *Thebes.*

VIGNETTE L. — The two Colossi of Thebes before the temple built by Amunoph III, with the ruins of Luxor in the distance, during the inundation.

CHAP. XII.

Religious Opinions of the Egyptians. — The Greeks borrowed many of their Notions on Religion from Egypt. — The Idea of the Deity entertained by the Priests, different from that taught to the uninitiated. — Nature of the Gods. — Numbers. — The Deity manifested upon Earth. — Theories in Greek Writers. — The Great Gods. — Triads.

BEFORE we examine the nature of the Pantheon, or the attributes of the Deities worshipped by the Egyptians, it will be proper to take a general view of their religious opinions, intimately connected as they were with the manners and customs of the people.

Superstitiously attached to their sacred institutions, and professing a religion which admitted much outward show, the Egyptians clothed their ceremonies with all the grandeur of solemn pomp; and the celebration of their religious rites was re-

markable for all that human ingenuity could devise, to render them splendid and imposing. They prided themselves on being the nation in whom had originated most of the sacred institutions afterwards common to other people, who were believed to have adopted them from Egypt; and the mysterious nature and attributes of the Deity, though presented under a different form, were recognised by the Egyptians as a direct emanation from the metaphysical philosophy of their priesthood. They claimed the merit of being the first, who had consecrated each month and day * to a particular deity; —a method of forming the calendar which has been imitated, and preserved to the present day; the Egyptian Gods having yielded their place to those of another Pantheon, which have in turn been supplanted by the saints of a Christian era; — and they also considered themselves the first † to suggest the idea of foretelling from the natal hour the future fortunes of each new-born infant, the life he was destined to lead, or the death he was fated to die, which were boldly settled by astrological prediction. ‡

"The Greeks," says Herodotus §, "borrowed the science of astrology from the Egyptians, but that people have invented more prodigies than all the rest of mankind. They observe and note down every occurrence, as well as whatever follows it;

* Herodot. ii. 82. † Herodot. ibid.

‡ Conf. Iamblich. de Myster. viii. 6. "According to many of the Egyptians, that which is in our power depends on the motion of the stars."

§ Herodot. ii. 82.

and then carefully watching those of a similar nature, they predict the issue from analogy, being persuaded that it will be the same." In like manner, observes the historian, to the Egyptians is conceded the honour of teaching mankind the proper mode of approaching the Deity *; and Lucian † asserts, "that they were reputed the first who had a conception of the Gods, an acquaintance with religious matters, and a knowledge of sacred names;" an opinion expressed in the words of an oracle of Apollo quoted by Eusebius ‡, which declares that "they, before all others, disclosed by infinite actions the path that leads to the Gods." And Iamblichus § not only considers them "the first of men who were allowed to partake of the favour of the Gods, but that the Gods when invoked rejoiced in the rites of Egypt."

The inspection of the entrails of victims, the study of omens, and all those superstitious customs which the religions of antiquity so scrupulously observed, were deemed highly important among the Egyptians; and the means adopted for divining future events, or the success of any undertaking, were as varied and fanciful, as the *derb el rummel*, and other trials of chance used by Oriental people at the present day. ||

* Herodot. ii. 58. † Lucian. de Syria Dea.

‡ "Αιπεινη γαρ οδος μακαρων, τρηχεια τε πολλον
Χαλκοδετοις τα πρωτα διοιγμενη πυλεωσιν.
Ατραπιτοι δε εασσιν αθεσφατοι εγγεγαυιαι,
Ας ηρωτοι μεροπων επ'απειρονα πρηξιν εφηναν,
Οι το καλον πινοντες ὑδωρ Νειλωτιδος αιης."

§ Iambl. de Myst. sect. vii. 5.

|| *Vide* Lane's Modern Egyptians, vol. i. p. 341. *et seq.*

They even, says Plutarch *, "look upon children as gifted with a kind of faculty of divination, and they are ever anxious to observe the accidental prattle they talk during play, especially if it be in a sacred place, deducing from it presages of future events." Omens were frequently drawn from common accidents, as tokens of good and bad luck; and thus the circumstance of the engineer sighing, while he superintended the transport of a monolithic shrine from Elephantine to Saïs, was sufficient to stop its further progress, and to prevent its introduction into the sacred place intended for its reception†; and Amasis, though a man of strong mind, and more free from prejudices than the generality of his countrymen, was induced to give way to this superstitious fancy.

Sacrifices of meat offerings, libations, and incense, were of the earliest date in their temples; and if the assertions of Proclus be true, that "the first people who sacrificed did not offer animals, but herbs, flowers, and trees, with the sweet scent of incense," and that "it was unlawful to slay victims," they only apply to the infant state of mankind, and not to that æra, when the Egyptians had already modelled their religious habits and belief into the form presented to us by the sculptures of their monuments. And when he adds, that "no animal should be offered in sacrifice to the gods, though permitted both to good and evil demons," we are not to conclude that the victims slain before the

* Plut. de Is. et Osir. s. 14. † Herodot. ii. 175.

altars in the Egyptian sculptures were confined to the minor Deities, or that this typical institution had not its origin in a very remote age. Macrobius, indeed, affirms * that "it was never permitted to the Egyptians to propitiate the Gods with the slaughter of animals, nor with blood, but with prayers and incense alone;" an idea expressed also by Ovid †, who says, that men in former times were reported to have made use of milk ‡ and whatever herbs the earth spontaneously produced, and every one offered for himself the sacrifice he had vowed. But these remarks do not apply to the Egyptians, who offered victims on the altars of all their Gods; and the privilege mentioned by Ovid, which every individual enjoyed, of offering for himself his own sacrifice, though permitted to the Jews before the Exodus, seems only to have been conceded to the Egyptians on particular occasions.

With the Israelites, the custom was to offer fruits, the fat and milk of animals, the fleeces of sheep, or the blood and flesh of victims; the right of making the offering being usually confined to the Elders, to the head of a family, and to those who were most esteemed for virtue, or venerated for their age. When keeping the sacrifice of the Passover, they were commanded to "take every man a lamb, according to the house of their fathers, a lamb for an house," "a male of the first year §,"

* Macrob. Sat. i. 4. He is even guilty of stating this to be the case under the Ptolemies, when Sarapis and Saturn were introduced into Egypt.

† Ovid. Fast. lib. v.

‡ Conf. Plin. xiv. 12. "Romulum lacte, non vino, libasse."

§ Exod. xii. 3. 5.

either "from the sheep, or from the goats;" and to the head of the family belonged the honour of slaying the victim in the name of the whole house. This custom is retained in the East to the present day; and the sheikh of a tribe, or the master of a house, is expected to slay the victim at the feast of the *Eed*, which the Arabs and other Moslems celebrate on the 10th day of Zoolhegh, the last month of their year. The ceremony is performed in commemoration of the sacrifice of Abraham; and it is remarkable that this patriarchal privilege has never been transferred by them to the priests of the religion. Another point which appears singular to us in this traditional custom is, that the ram then slain is said to be a record of the substitute presented to Abraham in lieu of his son Ishmael, and not of Isaac.

The earliest sacrifices of animals appear to have been holocausts; and, as it was deemed unlawful to eat it, the flesh of the victim was consumed by fire: but in after times, as with the Jews, certain portions only were burnt, and in some cases the residue belonged to the priest who sacrificed, or to the individual who made the offering.* And if the fruit of the earth may be considered the *first* offering made by man†, yet a "first-ling of the flock, and the fat thereof," were the sacrifice looked upon as peculiarly acceptable to the Deity‡; and most people appear to have adopted this method of propitiating Him, and of

* As in the peace offerings. Levit. viii. 31.
† Gen. iv. 3. ‡ Gen. iv. 4, 5.

expiating sin. Indeed, it always continued to be regarded as the most suitable species of offering; and the descriptive formula on Egyptian tablets dedicated to Osiris, and to some other deities, is so worded as to leave no doubt respecting the nature of the most important Egyptian sacrifices; in which we find oxen and geese, with cakes and wine, incense and libation, invariably mentioned; flowers and herbs being presented as a separate oblation.

Of that primitive notion which led man to consider sacrifice the type of a more complete expiation, or of the vestiges of early revelation on this point, it is not necessary here to treat; but I shall have occasion to mention some curious ideas repecting the manifestation of the Deity upon earth, which occur in examining the mysteries of ancient Egypt.

Oracles were of very remote date among the Egyptians; and the Greeks, as well as some other people, were indebted to them for their institution. "The origin of the different deities," says Herodotus *, "their form, their nature, and their immortality, are with the Greeks only notions of yesterday; and the first who have described them in their theogony, are Hesiod and Homer, who are only my predecessors by 400 years. They mentioned their names, their worship, their offices in heaven, and their general appearance; and the poets who are said to have preceded those two, came, in my opinion, some time after them." "Nearly all

* Herodot. ii. 53.

the names of Greek Divinities," says the same historian *, "came from Egypt, or at least the greater part; for, with the exception of Neptune, the Dioscuri †, Juno, Vesta, Themis, the Graces, and Nereids, the names of all the Gods have been always known in Egypt. In stating this, I only repeat what the Egyptians themselves acknowledge to be the case; and the names of deities unknown to them I suppose to have been of Pelasgic origin, with the exception of Neptune, which is from Libya, where that Deity has always been held in particular veneration. With regard to Heroes, *they receive no funereal honours* from the Egyptians. The Greeks, indeed, borrowed from the Egyptians the religious rites used among them, many of which I shall have occasion to notice; but it is not from them, but from the Pelasgi, that the Athenians, and after them the other Greeks, derived the custom of giving to the statues of Mercury a phallic attitude, the religious reason of which may be found explained in the mysteries of Samothrace." Herodotus states that the Egyptians were strangers to the names ‡ of the above-mentioned Deities; but we are not thence to infer that the Deities themselves were unknown to them; and there is direct evidence of three, Juno, Vesta, and Themis, holding a distinguished position in the Pantheon of Egypt. Juno was called Sáté, Vesta Anouké, and Themis was doubtless derived from the Egyptian

* Herodot. ii. 53.

† Castor and Pollux, the reputed sons of Jupiter.

‡ But surely they were not strangers even to the *name* of Themis, being so closely allied to the *Thmei* of Egypt.

Thmei, the Goddess of Truth and Justice, from whom were borrowed both her attributes and name.

The historian then goes on to observe*, "that the Pelasgi did not at first assign any name to their Divinities, but merely applied to them the general appellation of Gods, according to the order of the different parts which constituted the universe, and the manner in which they had organised them. It was not till a late period that they came to know their names, which were introduced from Egypt; and they learnt that of Bacchus long after those of the other Gods. In process of time they went to consult the oracle of Dodona upon this very point; and having received for answer that they might adopt the names taken from foreigners, the Pelasgi thenceforth used them in their sacrifices, and the Greeks borrowed them from the Pelasgi."

If the ceremonies and worship of Bacchus were introduced into Greece by Melampus †, and if some trifling changes were made in them, it was only done in order to suit the taste of the new votaries; and it is evident, says Herodotus, from the great variance that exists between their rites and Greek manners, and from their resemblance to those of the Egyptians, that they were derived from that people. Other religious ceremonies introduced from Egypt, also underwent certain changes, as in the case of the Phallic Mercury above alluded to; and though Herodotus ‡ derives the form of that deity from a Samothracian custom, there is great

* Herodot. ii. 52.
† Herodot. ii. 49.
‡ Herodot. ii. 51.

reason to suppose that it was borrowed from the figure of the Pan of Chemmis.*

The ancient oracle of Dodona was allowed, even by the priestesses themselves, to have been of Egyptian origin †, as well as that of the Libyan Ammon; and the oracles of Diospolis, or Egyptian Thebes ‡, bore a strong resemblance to the former of those two. The principal oracles in Egypt were of the Theban Jupiter, of Hercules, Apollo, Minerva, Diana, Mars, and above all of Latona, in the city of Buto, which the Egyptians held in the highest veneration; but the mode of divining differed in all of them, and the power of giving oracular answers was confined to certain Deities. §

There was also an oracle of Besa, according to Ammianus || in Abydus, a city of the Thebaïd ¶, where that Deity was worshipped with long established honours; though others assign a different position to his celebrated temple, in the vicinity of Antinoë, which place is supposed to have usurped the site of the old town of Besa. The mode of obtaining answers was here, as at Heliopolis **, through the medium of persons deputed for the

* Both from the office of Mercury, and from what he says of the mysteries of the Cabiri.

† Herodot. ii. 55.

‡ Herodot. ii. 58.

§ Herodot. ii. 83. 152.

|| Ammian. Marcell. lib. xix. 12. "Besæ Dei . . . . oraculum quondam futura pandebat, priscis circumjacentium regionum cærimoniis solitum coli . . . . . chartulæ seu membranæ continentes quæ petebantur post data quoque responsa interdum remanebant in fano."

¶ Ammianus says, "at the extremity of the Thebaïd," which was not the situation of Abydus. I am inclined to think he should have said Antinoë.

** Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. 30. "Consulunt hunc deum (Heliopoli-

purpose, who carried the questions in writing, according to a proper formula *, and deposited them sealed in the temple, the answers being returned in the same secret and ceremonious manner. Zosimus relates, that in the time of Constantius, some of the sealed answers, which, as usual, had been left in the temple, were sent to the Emperor, and the discovery of their contents subjected many persons to imprisonment and exile; apparently in consequence of the oracle having been applied to respecting the fate of the empire, or the success of some design against his life.

Different forms were required in consulting different oracles. At Aphaca, a town between Heliopolis and Byblus, where Venus had a temple, was a lake, into which those who went to consult the oracle of that Goddess threw presents, of whatever kind they chose, and derived omens from their sinking, or swimming on the surface. If agreeable to the Goddess, they sank, if not they floated; and Zosimus states, that in the year preceding their ruin, the offerings of the Palmyrenes sank, and the following year a contrary result predicted the calamity which befell them.†

"On consulting the god at the Oasis of Ammon, it was customary," says Quintus Curtius, "for the

tanum), et absentes missis diplomatibus consignatis: rescribitque ordine ad ea quæ consultatione abdita continentur."

* Pliny (xxviii. 2.), speaking of consulting oracles, says the greatest care was taken lest a word should be omitted, or even pronounced wrong, and all was according to a set form. Conf. Juvenal. Sat. vi. 390.

"dictataque verba
"Protulit, (ut mos est,) et apertâ palluit agnâ."

† *Vide* Banier, Mytholog. tome ii. liv. 4. c. i. p. 40.

priests to carry a gilded boat, ornamented with numerous silver *pateræ* hanging from both its sides, behind which followed a train of matrons and virgins singing a certain uncouth hymn, in the manner of their country, with a view to propitiate the Deity, and induce him to return a satisfactory answer."

The oracle of Ammon enjoyed for ages the highest celebrity, and was looked upon by foreigners, as well as Egyptians, with the most profound respect, missions from all countries being sent to consult it, and learn its infallible answers: but in Strabo's * time it began to lose its former renown; the sibyls of Rome and the soothsayers of Etruria having substituted omens drawn from the flight of birds, the inspection of victims, and warnings from heaven, for the longer process of oracular consultation; though, according to Juvenal †, the answers of Ammon continued in his time to be esteemed in the solution of difficult questions, after "the cessation of the oracle of Delphi."

Oracles were resorted to on all occasions of importance; and sometimes messages were sent from them spontaneously to those, whom they intended to advise, in the form of warnings against an approaching calamity, or as an indication of the divine will. Mycerinus was censured for not having accomplished the intentions of the Gods, and received intimation of his approaching death; Sabaco retired from the kingdom in consequence

* Strabo, xvii. p. 559.

† Juv. Sat. vi. 554.

"credent a fonte relatum
Hammonis: quoniam Delphis oracula cessant."

of the predictions and promises of an oracle*; and Neco was warned not to continue the canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, lest he should expose his country to foreign invasion.† Oracles were also consulted, like the magicians of the present day, in cases of theft; and Amasis is reported to have bestowed presents on those which he found capable of returning true answers, and remarkable for discrimination.

They predicted future events, both relative to private occurrences, and natural phenomena; for which purpose, Diodorus ‡ tells us, they took advantage of their skill in arithmetical calculations; this last being of the highest importance to them in the study of astrology. "For the Egyptians most accurately observe the order and movement of the stars, preserving their remarks upon each for an incredible number of years; that study having been followed by them from the earliest times. They most carefully note the movements, revolutions, and positions of the planets, as well as the influences possessed by each upon the birth of animals, whether productive of good or evil. And they frequently foretell what is about to happen to mankind with the greatest accuracy, showing the failure and abundance of crops, or the epidemic diseases about to befal men or cattle: and earthquakes, deluges, the rising of comets, and all those phænomena, the knowledge of which appears impossible to vulgar comprehensions, they foresee by means

* Herodot. ii. 133. 139.
† Herodot. ii. 158.
‡ Diodor. i. 81.

of their long-continued observations. It is, indeed, supposed that the Chaldeans of Babylon, being an Egyptian colony, arrived at their celebrity in astrology in consequence of what they derived from the priests of Egypt."

"The art of predicting future events, as practised in the Greek temples," says Herodotus, "came also from the Egyptians; and it is certain that they were the first people who established festivals, public assemblies, processions, and the proper mode of approaching or communing with the Divinity."* The manner of doing this depended on the object of the votary, and a proper offering was required for each service.

Meat and drink offerings, and oblations of different kinds, made by the Jews, were in like manner established by law, and varied according to the occasion. "Some were free-will offerings †, others of obligation. The firstfruits, the tenths, and the sin-offerings were of obligation; the peace-offerings, vows, offerings of wine, oil, bread, salt, and other things made to the temple, or the ministers of the Lord, were of devotion. The Hebrews called offerings in general *Corban;* but those of bread, salt, fruits, and liquors, as wine and oil, presented to the temple, they termed *Mincha.* Sacrifices, not being properly offerings, were not generally included under this name. Offerings of grain, meal, bread, cakes, fruits, wine, salt, oil, were common in the temple. These were sometimes presented alone; sometimes they accompanied the

* Herodot. ii. 58. † *Vide* Calmet; "Offerings."

sacrifices: but honey was never offered with sacrifices; though it might be presented alone, as first-fruits.*

"There were five sorts of offerings called Mincha (*Minkheh*) or Corban Mincha†: 1.—Fine flour or meal. 2. Cakes of several sorts, baked in the oven. 3. Cakes baked on a plate. 4. Another sort of cakes, baked on a plate with holes in it. 5. The firstfruits of the new corn; which were offered either pure and without mixture, roasted, or parched, either in the ear, or out of the ear. The cakes were kneaded with olive oil, fried in a pan, or only dipped in oil after they were baked. The bread offered to the altar was without leaven, for leaven was never offered on the altar, nor with the sacrifices‡; but they might make presents of common bread to the priests and ministers of the temple. These offerings were appointed in favour of the poor, who could not afford the charge of sacrificing animals; though, when living victims were offered, they were not excused from giving meal, wine, and salt, as an accompaniment to the greater sacrifices. Those who made oblations of bread, or of meal, presented also oil, incense, salt, and wine, which were in a manner their seasoning. The priest in waiting received the offerings from the hand of him who brought them, laid a part on the altar, and reserved the rest for his own subsistence, as a minister of the Lord. Nothing was wholly burnt up but the incense, of which the priest retained none.§ When an Israelite offered

* Levit. ii. 11, 12.
† Levit. ii. 1.
‡ Levit. ii. 11.
§ *Vide* Levit. ii. 2. 16. Numb. xv. 4, 5.

a loaf to the priest, or a whole cake, the priest divided it into two parts, and having set aside the portion reserved for himself, he broke the other into crumbs, poured on it oil, salt, wine, and incense, and spread the whole on the fire of the altar. If these offerings were accompanied by an animal for a sacrifice, this portion was all thrown on the victim, to be consumed with it. If the offerings were ears of new corn (wheat or barley), they were parched at the fire, or in the flame, and rubbed in the hand, and then offered to the priest in a vessel; who put oil, incense, wine, and salt over the grain, and burnt it on the altar, first having taken his own portion.*

"The greater part of these offerings were voluntary, and of pure devotion. But when an animal was offered in sacrifice, they were not at liberty to omit them. Every thing proper was to accompany the sacrifice, and serve as seasoning to the victim. In some cases, the law required only offerings of corn, or bread; as when they offered the firstfruits of harvest, whether on the part of the nation, or as a mark of devotion from private persons. As to the quantity of meal, oil, wine, or salt, to accompany the sacrifices, we cannot see that the law determined it. Generally, the priest threw a handful of meal or crumbs on the fire of the altar, with wine, oil, and salt in proportion, and all the incense; the rest belonging to himself, and the quantity depending on the liberality of the offerer. Moses appointed† an assaron (עשירת *ashíreth*), or the tenth part of an *ephah*, of fine flour, for those who could

* Levit. ii. 14, 15. † Levit. viii. 11., and xiv. 21.

not bring two turtle doves, or two young pigeons, and had not wherewith to offer the appointed sin-offerings. In the solemn offerings of the firstfruits for the whole nation, they offered an entire sheaf of corn, a lamb of a year old, two tenths of fine meal mixed with oil, and a quarter of a *hin* of wine for the libation.* In the sacrifice of jealousy, when a husband accused his wife of infidelity, the husband offered the tenth part of an ephah of barley meal, without oil or incense, because it was an offering of jealousy," " an offering of memorial†;" and the priest pronounced a curse upon the woman, in the event of her having committed a sin, making her drink a cup of bitter water to prove her innocence, or her guilt.

In like manner, among the Egyptians, a peculiar mode of addressing a prayer, or of offering a sacrifice, was required for different occasions, as well as for different Deities; numerous instances of which occur in the sculptured representations of sacrifices in their temples. Nor do ancient authors fail to inform us of this fact; and it was forbidden, says Herodotus‡, to immolate the pig to any Deity except the Moon and Bacchus.

That different animals were chosen for sacrifice in various parts of Egypt, is evident from the recorded customs of some of the nomes and cities, where they abstained from offering such as were sacred; and consequently, the same animal which was revered and forbidden to be slaughtered for

* Levit. xxiii. 10. et seq. Numb. v. 15.
† Numb. v. 15. *Vide* Calmet. ‡ Herodot. ii. 47.

the altar or the table, in one part of the country, was sacrificed, and eaten in another. Thus the Mendesians, who offered up sheep, abstained from goats, which they held in particular veneration; and the Thebans, who permitted no sheep to be slain, immolated goats on the altars of their Gods.* On the fête of Jupiter, a ram was slain, and the statue of the Deity being clad in the skin, the people assembled about the temple to make a solemn lamentation, and inflict numerous stripes upon their persons, in token of their regret for the death of the sacred animal, whose corpse was afterwards deposited in a consecrated case. Plutarch affirms†, that, "of all the Egyptians, none eat sheep except the Lycopolites; and that because the wolf does so, which they revere as a Deity;" and thus it was that, in one part of the country, certain rites were performed, which differed totally from those of the rest of Egypt.

This, however, did not extend to the worship of the great Gods of their religion, as Osiris‡, Amun, Pthah, and others, who were universally looked upon with becoming reverence, and treated, not as arbitrary emblems, but as the mysterious representations of some abstract qualities of the Divinity itself; and if one or other of them was more peculiarly worshipped in certain cities or provinces of Egypt, it was from his being considered the immediate patron and presiding deity. But

* Herodot. ii. 42, 46. † Plut. de Is. s. 72.

‡ If Osiris was not nominally one of the eight great Gods, he in reality held a rank equal to any.

though his protection and assistance were particularly invoked by the inhabitants, other Deities shared with him the honours of the sanctuary, under the name of Contemplar Gods, whose united favours they did not fail to implore. With this feeling, the dedication and votive prayers put up in the temples were addressed to the presiding Deity and the Contemplar Gods* ; and if the former held the most conspicuous post in the adytum and other parts of the temple, the latter received all the respect due to them as equally sacred, though not enjoying the same external honours in that building. And thus, again, we find that separate temples were raised to various Deities in the same city.

In the worship of sacred animals the case was different; and it frequently happened, that those which were adored in some parts of Egypt, were abhorred and treated as the enemies of mankind in other provinces: deadly conflicts occasionally resulting from this worship or detestation of the same animal.

The arbitrary choice of peculiar emblems, and the adoration paid to animals and inanimate objects, frequently depended upon accident, or some peculiar local reason ; and though great respect was shown to the ichneumon, from its destroying the eggs of the crocodile, in places where that animal was considered an enemy of man, it obtained no honours in those where the crocodile was a sacred

* For instance, at Ombos, where the presiding Deity was Aroeris, the dedication says that the "Infantry and cavalry and others stationed in the Ombite nome, dedicated the adytum to Aroeris, the great God Apollo, and to the contemplar deities, for their benevolence towards them."

animal, as the type of a beneficent Deity. This remark applies equally to other sacred emblems, as I shall have occasion to show in describing the sacred animals. But if, in most instances, the motives assigned for their choice appear capricious and unsatisfactory, we frequently discover some plausible pretext derived from a sanatory notion, as in the case of their abstinence from the meat of swine, from beans and "most sorts of pulse *," and from certain fish of the Nile; or connected with some advantage to mankind; and in order to command the observance of these injunctions, and to prevent the possibility of their being disregarded, many forbidden things were denominated sacred, or reputed to partake of the nature of the Gods. "For," says Porphyry, "the Egyptians either considered animals to be really Deities, or represented their Gods with the heads of oxen, birds, and other creatures, in order that the people might abstain from eating them, as they did from using human flesh, or for some other more mysterious reason;" and religious prejudice commanded respect for them as for "their melodies, which were preserved through successive ages as the actual poems of the Goddess Isis." †

In process of time, the original motive was forgotten, and mere blind adoration took its place: but Plutarch says ‡, "it is evident that the religious rites and ceremonies of the Egyptians were never instituted on irrational grounds, or built on mere fable and superstition; all being founded with a

* These and fish were forbidden to the priests. *Vide* Plut. de Is. s. 5.
† Plato, 2d Book of Laws, p. 790. ‡ Plut. de Iside, s. 8.

view to promote the morality and happiness of those whose duty it was to observe them."

The Greeks frequently delighted in deriding the religious notions of the Egyptians: and, indeed, considering the strange animals, the fish, and even vegetables, admitted to a participation of divine honours, and the lamentations they uttered when death or any accident befell them, we may readily conceive that the lively wit of a Greek, who looked upon this superstitious custom in a literal point of view, would not fail to seize the points most open to ridicule. Antiphanes *, in his Lycon, speaking jestingly of the Egyptians, says, "Besides, clever as they are reputed in other things, they show themselves doubly so in thinking the eel equal to the Gods; for surely it is more worthy of honour than any Deity, since we have only to give prayers to the Gods; but we must spend upon the eel at least 12 drachmas or more, merely to smell it, — so perfectly holy is this animal!" Anaxandrides †, in his play of the Cities, addressing the same people, observes, — "I cannot agree with you; our customs and laws differ so widely: you adore the ox; I sacrifice it to the Gods: you think the eel a very great Deity; we look upon it as the most delicious dainty: you abstain from the flesh of swine; I delight in it above all things: you adore the dog; I give him a good beating whenever I catch him stealing any meat. Here a priest

* Athen. Deipn. vii. p. 299. ed. Cas.
† Athen. loc. cit.

is required to be whole in every part; with you, it appears, they are mutilated. If you see a cat indisposed, you weep; I am delighted to kill it, and take its skin: the mygale, with you, has great influence; with us, none." Timocles *, also, in his Egyptians, says, "How could the ibis or the dog have preserved me? for when persons irreverent towards those, who are really confessed to be Gods, escape immediate punishment, whose offences shall be visited by the Altar of a Cat?"

The favourable opportunity of indulging in satire, presented by the superstitions of Egypt, could not escape the severe lash of Juvenal, who thus commences his Fifteenth Satire: —

"Who knows not, Bithynian Volusius, what monsters
Mad Egypt can worship? this place adores a crocodile;
That fears an ibis saturated with serpents.
A golden image of a sacred Cercopithecus shines
Where the magic chords resound from the half Memnon,
And ancient Thebes lies overthrown with its hundred gates.
There a sea-fish, here a river-fish, there
Whole towns worship a dog, nobody Diana.
It is a sin to violate a leek or an onion, or to break them with a bite.
O holy nation, for whom are born in gardens
These Deities! every table abstains from animals bearing
Wool; it is there unlawful to kill the offspring of a she-goat,
But lawful to be fed with human flesh." †

The animal worship of the Egyptians naturally struck all people as a ludicrous and gross superstition; but when Xenophanes and others deride their religious ceremonies by observing, — If your Gods are really Gods, weep not for them; if men, do not offer them sacrifices, — the objection comes badly

* Athen. loc. cit.
† This is an exaggeration and a licence of satire.

from a Greek; and, as Clemens justly remarks, that people had little reason to criticise the religion of the Egyptians; for into the Pantheon of Greece a greater number of deified men were admitted, than into that of any ancient people; and the legendary tales of the deities degraded their nature by attributing to them the most inconsistent and disgusting vices.

On the superstition of the Egyptians in considering animals or herbs to be Gods, and in lamenting their death, Plutarch observes *, — "Struck with the manifest absurdity of these things, Xenophanes the Colophonian, and other philosophers who followed him, might not only have said to the Egyptians, — 'if ye believe them to be Gods, why do ye weep for them? if they deserve your lamentations, why do ye repute them Gods?' — but they might have added, that it was still more ridiculous to weep for the fruits of the earth, and at the same time to pray for them, that they would appear again, and bring themselves to maturity, to be again consumed, and again lamented:" and nothing could be more open to censure than the folly of the Egyptians in paying divine honours to the brute creation. For whatever may have been their original motive, the natural consequence of its introduction ought to have been foreseen: they may have deified some to insure their preservation, because they were useful to the country; others may have been called sacred, to prevent their unwholesome meat becoming an article of food; and

* Plut. de Is. s. 71.

some may have been selected as emblems of certain Deities, from various reasons: but the result ought to have been anticipated, and an enlightened priesthood should have guarded men's minds against so dangerous a fallacy. For, as Plutarch observes *, "The Egyptians, — at least, the greater part of them, — by adoring the animals themselves, and reverencing them as Gods, have not only filled their religious worship with many contemptible and ridiculous rites, but have even given occasion to notions of the most dangerous consequence, driving the weak and simple-minded into all the extravagance of superstition."

It was likewise unjust and inconsistent that the priesthood should have a creed peculiar to themselves, and the people be left in utter ignorance of the fundamental doctrines of their religion; that in proportion as their ideas were raised towards the contemplation of the nature of a God, the other classes, tyrannically forbidden to participate in those exalted studies, should be degraded by a belief totally at variance with the truths imparted to the initiated; and whilst these last were acquainted with the existence of one Deity in Unity, and the operations of the Creative power, that the uninstructed should be left and even taught to worship a multiplicity of Deities, whose only claims to adoration were grounded upon fable.

The office of the Gods was, perhaps, in early times more simply defined, their numbers smaller, their attributes less complicated; but the weakness

* Plut. de Is. s. 71.

of men's minds, when untutored on religious subjects, soon paved the way for idle superstition; the belief of genii, and spirits, pervading the universe, led to the adoration of fanciful beings; and perverted notions respecting the Deity, obliterating every trace of the simple original, effectually prevented the uninitiated from suspecting the real nature of their religion. And so gross at length became their ideas, that the character of the Gods they worshipped was degraded, their supposed actions censured, or their non-interference avenged by an insult to their statues or their names.

It is not, then, surprising that foreigners should be struck with the absurdities which, from outward appearances, the religion of Egypt presented; and the animals chosen as emblems of the Gods, or as substitutes for the divine rulers of the world, were frequently calculated to give a very low opinion of the exalted personages of whom they were thought to be proper representatives; and however appropriately the hieroglyphics might indicate a child by a goose*, the God of learning could scarcely be flattered by being figured under the form of an Ape, or the Creator of the world, who made all things perfect, under the deformed character of the pigmy Pthah.

An Egyptian priest, it is true, might object to his religion being judged by the standard of our ideas; he might insist upon the necessity of secrecy in the mysteries, in order to prevent the dan-

* In fact, merely in consequence of its phonetic or alphabetic value.

gerous speculations of those who were not subject to the oaths of initiation; and he might suggest that, in the most simple and pure religions, many expressions had secret meanings, and that a literal interpretation of them would offend against the spirit of the religion itself.

In justice, therefore, some allowance should be made for the allegorical religion of the Egyptians: and when we reflect that it contained many important truths, founded upon early revelations made to mankind, and treasured up in secret to prevent their perversion; we may be disposed to look more favourably on the doctrines they entertained, and to understand why it was considered worthy of the divine legislator to be "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."

That the reasons assigned for the worship of certain objects are highly ridiculous, cannot be doubted, and no satisfactory motive can be discovered for many of the religious customs established in Egypt; but we may be satisfied that ancient authors were not sufficiently acquainted with the subject to place these points in their proper light—much less to give any satisfactory explanation; and their origin and tendency becoming at length enveloped in a cloud of fanciful speculation, few even of the Egyptians themselves were capable of understanding the intricacies of their own religion. It is evident, indeed, that no Egyptian, who was not initiated into the mysteries, understood the purport of the ceremonies he witnessed, or obtained any notion of the nature of the theogony,

beyond that usually entertained by the votaries of a polytheism: and the fabulous existence of the Gods on earth supplied, among the uninstructed, the place of abstract notions, which the initiated were taught to apply to the external forms they worshipped.

It was this ignorance of the nature of the Gods which led the Greeks to believe their positive existence upon earth in a human form, and to receive all the legendary tales of their actions as literal truths; bringing down the Deities, as Cicero observes, to the level of men, instead of raising men to the level of the Gods. But we find that Plutarch* was so far acquainted with those secrets, (to a participation of which he had, in a certain degree, been admitted,) as to deride the idea of the Deities having been once human, or having† lived among men; and a remark made by the Egyptians themselves to Herodotus and Hecatæus, shows how ignorant they considered the Greeks on this subject. "For many," says Origen, "listening to accounts they do not understand, relative to the sacred doc-

* Plut. de Is. 22, 23.

† Cicero says: "Quid absurdius quam aut res sordidas, atque deformes, deorum honore afficere, aut homines jam morte deletos reponere in Deos, quorum omnis cultus esset futurus in luctu?"—Nat. Deor. i. The only appearance of a man having the character of a deity occurs in the temple built by Thothmes III. at Samneh, where Osirtasen III. is represented performing the same offices as a God, but we do not know how far he was assimilated to a Deity, and he merely wears a *royal* cap. There are also offerings of Kings, as of other persons, to their deceased parents; but these are only made to them in the character they assumed after death, when they received the name of Osiris, from being supposed to return, after a virtuous life, to the great origin from which they were emanations. Sometimes the King even offers to a figure of himself and his Queen, seated on thrones, before whom he stands as an officiating priest.

trines of the Egyptian philosophers, fancy that they are acquainted with all the wisdom of Egypt, though they have never conversed with any of the priests, nor received any information from persons initiated into their mysteries.

" Greece," observes the Abbé Banier *, " never had but a confused idea of the history of her religion. Devoted without reserve on this important point to her ancient poets, she looked upon them as her first theologians; though these poets, as Strabo † judiciously remarks, either through ignorance of antiquity, or to flatter the princes of Greece, had arranged in their favour all the genealogies of the Gods, in order to show that they were descended from them. Whenever, therefore, any heroes are mentioned in their writings, we are sure to find Hercules, Jupiter, or some other God at the head of their genealogies; and if the desire to pass for very ancient is common to nearly all people, the Greeks were, of all others, the most conspicuous for this folly. It is, indeed, surprising that they, who could not possibly be ignorant of their having received many colonies from Egypt and Phœnicia, and with them the Gods and ceremonies of their religion, should venture to assert that those same Deities were of Greek, or Thracian, or Phrygian origin; for it is to this conclusion that their poets pretend to lead us. But two words of Herodotus, who says that the Gods of Greece came from Egypt, are preferable to all that their poets have put forth

* La Mythologie expliquée par l'Histoire, vol. i. liv. 2. c. 5.
† Strabo, lib. x.

on this subject;" and Plato tells us that "when Solon inquired of the priests of Egypt about ancient affairs, he perceived that neither he nor any one of the Greeks (as he himself declared) had any knowledge of very remote antiquity." "And as soon as he began to discourse about the most ancient events which happened among the Greeks, as the traditions concerning the first Phoroneus and Niobe, and the deluge of Deucalion and Pyrrha*, one of the more ancient priests exclaimed, 'Solon, Solon, you Greeks are always children, nor is there such a thing as an aged Grecian among you: all your souls are juvenile; neither containing any ancient opinion derived from remote tradition, nor any discipline hoary from its existence in former periods of time.'" †

Justly did the priests deride the ridiculous vanity and ignorance of the Greeks, in deriving their origin from Gods; and they assured Herodotus ‡, that during the long period which elapsed from the commencement of the Egyptian monarchy, to the reign of Sethos, (comprising 341 generations,) "no Deity had appeared on earth, in a human form, nor even before, nor since that time;" and when "Hecatæus," says the historian, "boasted of his genealogy to the priests of Jupiter at Thebes, claiming for his family the honour of being descended from a God, whom he reckoned as his

* The priests said to Solon, "You mention one deluge only, whereas many happened." Plat. in Tim. p. 466. trans. Taylor.

† Plat. in Tim. p. 467.

‡ Herodot. ii. 142.

16th ancestor, they made the same observation to him as to me, though I had said nothing respecting my ancestry. Having taken me into a large consecrated chamber, they showed me a series of as many wooden statues as there had been high priests during the above-mentioned period; for each high priest, while yet living, had his image placed there; and having counted them all before me, they proved that every one had succeeded his father at his demise, beginning from the oldest, and coming down to the last. The same had been done before Hecatæus, when he boasted of his genealogy; and in opposing his pretensions by the number of their high priests, they denied that any man was descended from a Deity. Each statue, they argued, represented a *Pirómis* engendered by a *Pirómis** (a *man* engendered by a *man*); and having gone through the whole number of 345, they showed that every one was the son of his predecessor, without a single instance of any being descended from a God, or even a hero."

Of their idea respecting the manifestation of the Deity on earth, which the Egyptians entertained in common with the Hindoos, but which is far more remarkable in their mode of treating it, I shall not speak at present. This question is totally different from that of the existence of the Gods on earth, alluded to by Herodotus, and must be looked upon under a very different aspect, as the most curious

* Piromi is the Egyptian word signifying "the man," which Herodotus, from his ignorance of the language, has translated "good and virtuous." The sense itself ought to have pointed out the meaning of the word, *romi*, "man."

mystery which has been traced in the religion of Egypt.

That the images of the Egyptian Deities were not supposed to indicate real beings, who had actually existed on earth, is abundantly evident from the forms under which they were represented; and the very fact of a God being figured with a human body and the head of an ibis, might sufficiently prove the allegorical character of Thoth, or Mercury, the emblem of the communicating medium of the divine intellect, and suggest the impossibility of any other than an imaginary or emblematic existence; in the same manner as the sphinx, with a lion's body and human head, indicative of physical and intellectual power, under which the Kings of Egypt were figured, could only be looked upon as an emblematic representation of the qualities of the monarch. But even this evident and well-known symbol did not escape perversion; and the credulous bestowed upon the sphinx the character of a real animal.

It signified little, in the choice of a mere emblem, whether it was authorised by good and plausible reasons; and if, in process of time, the symbol was looked upon with the same veneration as the Deity of whom it was the representative, the cause of this corruption is to be ascribed to the same kind of superstition which, in all times and in many religions, has invested a relic with a multiplicity of supposed virtues, and obtained for it as high a veneration as the person to whom it belonged, or of whom it was the type.

This substitution of an emblem, as an animal, or any other object, for the Deity, was not the only corruption which took place in the religion of the Egyptians: many of the deities themselves were mere emblematic representations of attributes of the one and sole God: for the priests who were initiated into, and who understood the mysteries of, their religion, believed in one Deity alone; and, in performing their adorations to any particular member of their Pantheon, addressed themselves directly to the sole ruler of the universe, through that particular form.

Each form (whether called Pthah, Amun, or any other of the figures representing various characters of the Deity) was one of his attributes; in the same manner as our expressions "the Creator," "the Omniscient," "the Almighty," or any other title, indicate one and the same Being; and hence arose the distinction between the great Gods, and those of an inferior grade, which were physical objects, as the Sun and Moon; or abstract notions of various kinds, as "valour," "strength," "intellectual gifts," and the like, personified under different forms; and it is evident that no one, who understood the principles on which the groundwork of the Egyptian Pantheon was based, could suppose that the God of valour, of strength, or of intellect, had ever lived on earth; and we may readily conceive how the Egyptian priests derided the absurd notions of the Greeks, who gave a real existence to abstract ideas, and claimed a lineal descent from "*strength*," or any deified attribute of the Divinity.

Upon this principle it is probable, that Gods were made of the virtues, the senses, and, in short, every abstract idea which had reference to the Deity or man; and we may therefore expect to find, in this catalogue, intellect, might, wisdom, creative power, the generative and productive principles, thought, will, goodness, mercy, compassion*, divine vengeance, prudence, temperance, fortitude, fate, love, πόθος, hope, charity, joy, time, space, infinity, as well as sleep, harmony†, and even divisions of time, as the year, month, day, and hours, and an innumerable host of abstract notions.

These, in like manner, were admitted into the Pantheon of Greece and Rome, with the addition of some not very delicate or elegant personages; who were frequently permitted to supersede and usurp the place of the more respectable divinities of earlier times.

There were also numerous physical Deities in the Egyptian Pantheon, as earth, heaven, the sun and moon, and others, revered for the benefits they conferred on man: though the view they took of the elements mentioned by Seneca, appears rather to have been a metaphysical than a religious doctrine; and if they divided each of the four elements into two, making one masculine, the other feminine, it was in order to establish a distinction which appeared to correspond to a difference in their nature,

* The *rahman*, and *rahim* of the Arabs.

† Plutarch says Harmony was the offspring of Mars and Venus: de Is. s. 48. This, as the idea of Minerva springing from the head of Jove, and other similar fables, shows that many of the Greek Gods were, in like manner, personifications of ideas, and attributes of the Deity.

as between the active wind and the passive mist, or inert atmosphere; between sea and fresh water; between fire which burns, and light which shines; between stone and rock, as part of earth, and as cultivable land; the former of all these being masculine, the latter feminine.*

Different people have devised various modes of representing the personages connected with their religion. The Egyptians adopted a distinguishing mark for their Gods, by giving them the heads of animals, or a peculiar dress and form, which generally, even without the hieroglyphic legends, sufficed to particularise them; but they had not *arrived* at that refinement in sculpture which enabled the Greeks to assign a peculiar face and character to each Deity. This was an effort of art to which none but the most consummate masters could attain: and even the Greeks sometimes deviated from these conventional forms; the Apollo, or the Bacchus, of one age, differing from those of another; and the lion skin, the dolphin, the crescent, or the eagle, were generally required to identify the figures of a Hercules, a Venus, a Diana, or a Jove. Indeed, in so extensive a Pantheon as that of Egypt, it would be impossible to maintain the peculiarities of features, even if adopted for the principal Gods; and the Christians have found it necessary to dis-

* *Vide* Senec. Nat. Quæst. iii. 14. p. 870. "Ægyptii quatuor elementa fecere: deinde ex singulis bina, marem et fœminam. Aërem marem judicant, qua ventus est, fœminam qua nebulosus et iners. Aquam virilem vocant mare, muliebrem omnem aliam. Ignem vocant masculam qua ardet flamma, et fœminam qua lucet innoxius tactu. Terram fortiorem marem vocant, saxa cautesque; fœminæ nomen assignant huic tractabili ad culturam."

tinguish the Apostles and saints by various accompanying devices, as the eagle, the lion, a wheel, or other symbols.

Though the priests were aware of the nature of their Gods, and all those who understood the mysteries of the religion looked upon the Divinity as a sole and undivided Being, the people, as I have already observed, not admitted to a participation of those important secrets, were left in perfect ignorance respecting the objects they were taught to adore; and every one was not only permitted, but encouraged, to believe the real sanctity of the idol, and the actual existence of the God whose figure he beheld. The bull Apis was by them deemed as sacred and as worthy of actual worship as the Divinity of which it was the type; and in like manner were other emblems substituted for the Deities they represented. But, however the ignorance of the uninstructed may have misinterpreted the nature of the Gods, they did not commit the same gross error as the Greeks, who brought down the character of the creative power, the demiurge who made the world, to the level of a blacksmith; this abstract idea of the Egyptians being to the Greeks the working Vulcan, with the hammer, anvil, and other implements of an ordinary forge.

The Egyptians may have committed great absurdities in their admission of emblems in lieu of the Gods; they were guilty of the folly of figuring the Deities under the forms of animals; but they did not put them on an equality with earthly beings, by

giving them the ordinary offices of men: they allowed them still to be Gods; and their fault was rather the elevation of animals and emblems to the rank of Deities, than the bringing down of the Gods to the level of mankind.

In noticing the religion of the Egyptians, it is not my intention to enter into a detailed account of the offices and attributes of the numerous Gods who composed their Pantheon, nor, indeed, have we as yet sufficient data to enable us to penetrate into all the intricacies of this curious question; I shall therefore confine myself to the general forms and characters of the Deities, and endeavour to explain the principle on which the superstructure of their Theogony was based.

In the early ages of mankind, the existence of a sole and omnipotent Deity, who created all things, seems to have been the universal belief; and tradition taught men the same notions on this subject, which in later times have been adopted by all civilised people. Whether the Egyptians arrived at this conclusion from mere tradition, or from the conviction resulting from a careful consideration of the question, I will not pretend to decide; suffice it to know that such was their belief, and the same which was entertained by many philosophers of other nations of antiquity. Some of the Greeks, in early times, had the same notions respecting their theogony, as we learn from a very old author, "if it be true," as the Abbé Banier* observes,

* Mytholog. vol. i. lib. 2. c. 5.

"that Pronapides adopted them, who was the preceptor of Homer, as Boccaccio* affirms, on the authority of a fragment of Theodontius. According to this ancient theogony, the most rational of all, there was only one eternal God, from whom all the other Deities were produced. It was not permitted to give any name to this first Being †, and no one could say who he was. Anaxagoras thought to have defined him, by saying that he was νους, understanding. However, as the most simple ideas have been altered in after times, Lactantius, the scholiast of Statius, calls this sovereign Being Daimogorgon, as does the author above alluded to, in imitation of Theodontius. His name signifies the Genius of the Earth; but, from the description given of this God, it scarcely agrees with the idea that the first philosophers entertained of Him; for it is right to observe that the poets, who were the earliest theologians of Greece, have, as it were, personified their ideas, and made out theogonies according to their fancy, though they appear always to suppose a Being really independent. Most of them agree in an eternity, an ontogony, or generation of beings, some of whom are heavenly, others earthly or infernal; but Daimogorgon and Achlys, according to their system, were before the world, even anterior to chaos. Their Acmon, their Hypsistus, existed before the heavens, which the Latins called Cœlus, and the Greeks Ouranos.

* Genealog. of the Gods, i. c. 3.

† Statius says, "Et triplicis mundi summum, quem scire nefastum est, illum sed taceo." Thebais, lib. 4. v. 316.

According to them, the Earth, Tartarus, and Love preceded Cœlus, since we find in Hesiod that this last was son of the Earth *: and some considered Acmon to be the father of Cœlus, and the son of Manes. Cœlus also was the parent of Saturn, who was himself the father of the other Gods. The giants, sons of the Earth, came afterwards, and Typhon was the last of them; after whom were the Demigods, engendered by an intercourse between the Gods and the inhabitants of the earth."

It is still doubtful if the Egyptians really represented, under any form, their idea of the unity of the Deity; it is not improbable that his name, as with the Jews, was regarded with such profound respect as never to be uttered; and the Being of Beings, "who is, and was, and will be," was perhaps not even referred to in the sculptures, nor supposed to be approachable, unless under the name and form of some deified attribute, indicative of his power, and connection with mankind.

Many allegorical figures are supposed to have been adopted for this purpose; and Greek writers have imagined that the snake curled into the form of a circle, with its tail in its mouth, and other similar emblems, were used by the Egyptians to indicate the unutterable name of the eternal Ruler of the universe: but these are merely symbols of his deified attributes, (if, indeed, the snake in that form can be admitted among the number †;) and neither the snake, the emblem of Neph, the hawk,

* Though Saturn was said to be son of Cœlus and Terra.

† It does not appear to be met with singly in the ancient temples as the representative of any Egyptian Deity.

nor any other emblem, can be considered in any way connected with the unity of the Deity.

Even Osiris himself cannot be looked upon as the Deity in Unity; though his character of Judge of the dead in the region of Amenti, and his mysterious nature as an Avatar, give him a higher and more comprehensive rank than any other God*: and it is not a little remarkable that he there appears as one of two members of a separate triad, though he had returned, after performing his duties on earth during his manifestation, to that state from which he was supposed to proceed. One of the most perplexing parts of the Egyptian system is the varied character of the same Deity; and the many names of Osiris, as the title "*Myrionymus*," ("*with ten thousand names*,") given to Isis, show the difficulty of ascertaining their office on different occasions.

It appears then that the Divinity himself was not represented in the Egyptian sculptures, and that the figures of the Gods were deified attributes indicative of the intellect, power, goodness, might, and other qualities of the eternal Being; which, in some measure accords with the opinion of Damascius, who observes, that "nearly all philosophers prior to Iamblichus asserted that there was one *superessential* God, but that the other Deities had an *essential* subsistence, and were deified by illuminations from *the one*." Some, which belonged to the Divinity himself, were considered the great Gods of the Egyptian Pantheon; the next class of Dei-

* *Vide infrà*, Chap. xiii. on Osiris.

ties were emanations from the same source; and the minor divinities of various grades were the representatives of inferior powers, of physical objects connected with the Creator, and of different abstract ideas, whose relative rank depended on the near or distant connection they were deemed to possess with a divine origin. Some, again, were mere deifications of physical objects; and superstition raised to a sacred rank a useful animal, or an unwholesome plant. The same may be observed in the religion of the Greeks and Romans; and to such an extent was this carried by the latter, and so degraded did the office of a deity become, that one was chosen to preside over the common sewers of the city, and a God of coughing * was invented as a suitable *pendant* to the Goddess Fever. †

The Egyptians, like the Greeks and Romans, divided their Gods into different classes or grades. Among the latter, they consisted of the 12 great Gods,— the Dii majorum gentium, or Dii consuentes, and the Dii minorum gentium; and the Egyptians, in the same manner, distinguished their eight great Gods from those of an inferior rank. The names of the twelve great Gods of the Greeks have been preserved by Ennius in the following couplet: —

> "Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
> Mercurius, Jovis, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo;"

each of whom presided over one of the months

* It must be allowed that Tussis is not mentioned by any Latin writer, and rests on mere local tradition.

† Cicero, v. 2. "We see a temple to Fever on the Palatine Hill."

of the year; and one of the follies of which Alexander was guilty, according to Arrian, was his wishing to be enrolled among these, and to become the thirteenth of the first class of Deities.

To the twelve great Gods, the Romans added eight others, called Selecti, or chosen Deities, who were Janus, Saturn, Genius, the Sun, the Moon, Pluto, Bacchus, and the ancient Vesta, or the Earth. After these ranked the Dii Semones or Seminomines, the demigods; and then the Indigetes, and those who were attached to certain localities, the household gods, the genii of woods, or rivers, nymphs, and other inferior beings.

"Cicero* arranges the Gods in three classes: first, the Dii celestes, who are the same as the Dii majorum gentium; then the Demigods and the Indigetes; and, thirdly, the Virtues, which raise man to heaven, and have been themselves deified." "Varro maintained," says the Abbé Banier, "that there were known and unknown Gods; and reduced all the Gentile Deities to two classes. In the first were those whose names and offices were defined, as the Sun, Moon, Jupiter, Apollo, and others; and in the second were placed those of whom nothing positive was known, and to whom it was not lawful to raise altars, or offer sacrifices. The philosopher Albricus considers the seven planets as the seven first Gods of the heathen, whom he arranges in this order: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon; Pausanias†, Cicero, Hesychius,

* De Legib. lib. ii. *Vide* Ban. Myth. l. 5. c. 5. † In Eliacis.

and many others, speak of altars raised to unknown Deities; and, in the Acts of the Apostles, St. Paul mentions an altar to the unknown God.

"Epemenides, the great prophet of the Cretans, was the author of this notion.

"Clemens of Alexandria endeavoured to include all the Pagan deities under seven classes. In the first he placed the stars or heavenly bodies; in the second, the fruits of the earth and the Gods who presided over them, as Ceres, Pomona, Vertumnus, Bacchus, and others; the third comprehended the Furies, and other Gods of punishment; in the fourth he placed those of the passions and affections, as love, modesty, and others; the virtues, as Concord, Peace, and the rest, forming, according to him, the fifth class. The great Gods, or Dii majorum gentium, occupied the sixth; and those of health, as Esculapius, Hygieia, Telesphore, and some more, constituted the seventh.

"Iamblichus *, a Platonic philosopher, divided the Gods into eight classes. In the first he placed the great Gods, who, invisible by their nature, pervaded the whole universe: that is, doubtless, the universal Spirit. The higher order of spirits, whom he called Archangels, occupied the second rank; and others of an inferior grade, or angels, formed the third. In the fourth were the Demons (δαιμονες); those whom he names greater Archontes,—that is, genii who presided over this sublunary world and over the elements, — constituted the fifth; and the

* Iamblichus de Mysteriis, sect. ii. c. 1.

sixth was composed of the minor Archontes, whose power extended over the gross and terrestrial matter. Heroes formed the seventh; and the souls of men admitted to the order of Gods, occupied the eighth and last class. Other philosophers of the same sect included all the Deities, or we may say, all the Genii, in two classes: those called αὔλοι, immaterial, and υλαιοι, material, occupying the first; and the mundane and supra-mundane, the second.

"Mercury, or Hermes Trismegistus, is said to have admitted three classes of Gods. In the first were those whom he called heavenly; in the second, the empyrean; and in the third, the etherean.

"The Gods were also divided into public and private: the former being those whose worship was established and authorised by law; the latter, those who were chosen by individuals to be the peculiar object of their worship, as the gods Lares, the Penates *, and the souls of ancestors.

"The most general division is that which classed the Gods under the two heads of the natural and the living Deities: the former consisting of the stars and other physical objects; the latter, of men who had received divine honours. But these did not comprehend all the Deities, since the genii of different kinds were there omitted. Finally, the

* This word might be derived from Pi-noute, "the God," but that we have a difficulty in accounting for the use of an Egyptian name at Rome. The origin of the penates is doubtful; some attributing their introduction to Æneas, which is an idle fable: and a difference of opinion exists about their names; some supposing them to be Neptune and Apollo; others, Jove, Juno, and Minerva; and others, Cœlus and Terra.

system which we should prefer in treating of the Deities of Greece and Rome, divides them into Gods of heaven, of earth, and of the lower regions."

These do not seem to accord with the divisions of the Egyptian Pantheon; and we may find in the Phœnician Cabiri, a stronger analogy to the great Gods of Egypt,—being, like them, eight in number, and their name implying that they were the *great** Gods of the country. The belief of their being the offspring of one great father, called 'Sydik,' 'the just,' may also accord with the presumed notion of the Egyptians respecting the indivisible *one* mentioned in the books of Hermes.

Herodotus describes the Cabiri in Egypt, as sons of Pthah, or Vulcan, whose statues† resembled those of the Egyptian creator, and speaks of their temple at Memphis, which no one but the priest was allowed to enter; but the mystery observed respecting them, and the slight information obtained by the historian on the subject, render his statement of little use in forming an opinion of their character and office.

Though the Egyptians may have admitted two general divisions of the Gods, which were adopted by Pythagoras and Plato, under the head of νοητοι, *intelligibles*, and αισθητοι, *sensibles*, or metaphysical and physical deities, yet many other distinctions subsisted in the members of their Pantheon; and the gradations, even among those of the first-mentioned class, were marked and numerous. The

* Kabir, or Kebir, "great," the common Hebrew and Arabic word, in use to the present day; as is Sadek, or Sedéek, the "just."

† Their statues were of wood, as were those of old times in Egypt, and in Greece, according to Pausanias (Corinth. ii. 19.).

αισθητοι, or *sensibles*, were also distinctly separated from the emblematic types of their divinities.

The great Gods of the Egyptians * were, Neph, Amun, Pthah, Khem, Saté, Maut, (or perhaps Buto,) Bubastis, and Neith, one of whom generally formed, in conjunction with other two, a triad, which was worshipped by a particular city, or district, with peculiar veneration. In these triads, the third member proceeded from the other two; that is, from the first by the second, thus: the intellect of the Deity, having operated on matter, produced the result of these two, under the form and name of the world, or created things, called by the Greeks κοσμος†; and on a similar principle appear to have been formed most of these speculative combinations. The third member of a triad, as might be supposed, was not of equal rank with the two from whom it proceeded; and we therefore find that Khonso, the third person in the Theban triad, was not one of the great Gods, as were the other two, Amun and Maut: Horus, in the triad of Philæ, was inferior to Osiris and Isis; and Anouke to Neph and Saté, in the triad of Elephantine and the Cataracts.

I do not pretend to decide respecting the origin of the notions entertained by the Egyptians of the triad into which the Deity, as an agent, was divided; nor can I attempt to account for their belief in his

* Diodorus (lib. i. s. 13.) mentions eight names, but fails to inform us if they were the eight great Deities of Egypt. They are, "Sol, Saturn, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, Vulcan, Vesta, Mercury." Evander says the eight Gods of Egypt were Saturn, Rhea, Osiris, *spiritus*, heaven, earth, night, and day.

† *Vide* Plutarch de Iside, s. 56.

manifestation upon earth: similar ideas had been handed down from a very early period, and having been imparted to the immediate descendants of Noah, and the patriarchs, may have reached the Egyptians through that channel, and have been preserved and embodied in their religious system. And this appears to be confirmed by the fact of our finding the creative power, *whilst* in operation upon matter, represented by Moses as a *Trinity*, and not under the name indicative of unity until *after* that action had ceased. For the name given to the Deity by the divine legislator, when engaged in the creation of material objects, is not Ihôah *, ("who is, and will be,") but Elohim †, "the Gods;" and this plural expression is used until the seventh day, when the creation was completed.‡

That the name Elohim is not intended to refer really to a plurality of Gods §, is shown by the use

* Written by us Jehovah, and translated in our version "the Lord, or, when combined with Elohim, "the Lord God." Clemens says, "αταρ και το τετραγραμμον ονομα το μυστικον (יהוה,) ὁ περιεκειντο οἱς μονοις τον αδυτον βασιμον ην, λεγεται δε Ιαου, ὁ μεθερμηνευεται ὁ ων και ὁ εσομενος." Strom. lib. v. p. 240. Many are of opinion that the Phœnician Ieuô, the Greek Ιαω, Ιακχος, or Ιωβακχος, and Javo, whence Jovis (the ancient name of Jupiter), Janus, Diana, and others are derived from this name. *Vide* Hofman's Lexicon.

† That this word Elohim exactly answers to our word Gods, as applied to all Gods generally, is evident from Exodus, xxii. 20., and other parts of Scripture.

‡ It has been supposed that the Deity then returned to his unity under the name of Ihôah, and under that of Ihoah-Elohim he appears in connection with Man as an intellectual being: man as a material animal having been already noticed, "male and female," among the creations of the first chapter of Genesis (ver. 27.), where the Deity only occurs as Elohim; and being mentioned in the next as an intellectual being, when God for the first time has the name of Ihoah added to the previous Elohim, under which he appeared as the creative power.

§ Some have thought to trace in this an analogy to the notion of Plato, mentioned at the end of this chapter.

of the singular verbs, "*bara*," created, "*ira*," saw, "*iamer*," said, and others, following the plural Elohim, as may be seen throughout the first chapter of Genesis; and the first verse of that chapter bears the literal translation, "In the beginning *He* the *Gods* created the heavens and the earth," or more intelligibly and more closely in the Latin, "In principio *Dii* crea*vit** cœlum et terram," where the plural substantive is followed by a singular verb. Thus, the very first verse of the Bible inculcates the doctrine of the Trinity; but under the title of "He the Gods," or "Gods Almighty," alone was the Deity known to the Patriarchs before the time of Moses; and the name of Ihôah was not revealed to the Hebrew lawgiver, until the future deliverance of the Israelites from the hand of Pharaoh was promised, when the Deity made a covenant with him under that sacred name; God saying to Moses †, "I am the Lord (Ihôah), and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the name of God (Gods) Almighty (Elohim Shadai ‡); but by my name Jehovah § was I not known to them."

It may appear singular that the principle of a Trinity should be so obscurely noticed in the Old Testament; but the wise caution of the divine legislator foresaw the danger likely to result from too

* Or in French, "Les Dieux créa."

† Exod. vi. 3. ‡ Or Shidée.

§ Calmet observes, that when Moses uses the name (Ihôah), in speaking of times prior to this appearance (Gen. iv. 26. &c.), he adopts it by way of anticipation, and because at the time he wrote the Jews were acquainted with it; that is, he followed the custom of his own day, and not that of the patriarchs.

marked an allusion to what a people, surrounded by idolatrous polytheists, might readily construe into the existence of a plurality of Gods: the knowledge, therefore, of this mystery was confined to such as were thought fit to receive so important a secret; and thus dangerous speculations and perversions were obviated, of which the fancies of an ignorant people, predisposed to idolatry, would not have failed to take advantage.

It is unnecessary to enter into the question respecting the connection between the name of Ihôah and the nature of man, as represented in the second chapter of Genesis; but I have considered it proper, in noticing the adoption of the two, Elohim and Ihôah, to show the possibility of the Egyptian notions of a Trinity having been derived from early revelation, handed down through the posterity of Noah; and I now proceed to mention some other remarkable coincidences with scriptural data.

Of these, the most singular are the character of Osiris, and the connection between *truth* and the *creative power*. In the latter, we trace the notion, which occurs in the Christian belief, that the Deity "of his own will begat us with the word of *truth**;" and not only do the sculptures of the earliest periods express the same, and connect the Goddess of Truth with Pthah the creative power, but Iamblichus also, in treating of the ancient mysteries, asserts it in these words: "Whereas he

* Epistle Gen. of James, i. 18. Orpheus says, "I call to witness the word of the father, which he first spoke, when he established the universe by his will." — Justin Martyr, Orat. ad Gentes.

makes all things in a perfect manner, not deceptively, but artificially, *together with truth*, he is called Pthah; but the Greeks denominate him Hephæstus, considering him merely as a physical or artificial agent," and not looking upon him, as they ought, in an abstract or metaphysical light. But the discloser of truth and goodness on earth was Osiris; and it is remarkable that, in this character of the manifestation of the Deity, he was said to be "full of goodness (grace) and truth," and after having performed his duties on earth, and fallen a sacrifice to the machinations of (Typho) the evil one, to have assumed the office in a future state of judge of mankind.

At Philæ, where Osiris was particularly worshipped, and which was one of the places where they supposed him to have been buried, his mysterious history is curiously illustrated * in the sculptures of a small retired chamber, lying nearly over the western adytum of the temple. His death and removal from this world are there described; the number of twenty-eight lotus† plants points out the period of years he was thought to have lived on earth; and his passage from this life to a future state is indicated by the usual attendance of the Deities, and genii, who presided over the funeral rites of ordinary mortals.‡ He is then represented with the feathered cap, which he

* A copy of these sculptures is given in the plates of the R. S. of Literature, p. 66, 67, 68, and 69.

† I had made an error in the number in my former drawing.

‡ Conf. Plut. de Is. s. 35., "the rising again of Osiris, and his new life."

wore in his capacity of judge of Amenti; and this attribute shows the final office he held after his resurrection, and continued to exercise towards the dead, at their last ordeal in a future state.

I have already stated that the Monad, or single Deity, was placed above and apart from the Triads, and that the great Gods of the Egyptian Pantheon were the deified attributes of the "*one*." The same idea of a Monad, and even of a triple Deity, was admitted by some of the Greeks into their system of philosophy; and "Amelius," according to Proclus, "says, the Demiurge (or Creator) is triple, and the three Intellects are the three kings—he who exists, he who possesses, he who beholds. And these are different; therefore the First Intellect exists essentially, as *that which exists*. But the Second exists as the Intelligible in him, though possessing that which is before him, and partaking altogether of that, wherefore it is the Second: but the Third exists as the Intelligible in the Second, as did the Second in the First; for every Intellect is the same with its conjoined Intelligible; and it possesses that which is in the Second, and beholds or regards that which is in the First; for by how much greater the remove, by so much the less intimate is that which possesses. These three Intellects, therefore, he supposes to be the Demiurgi, the same with the three Kings of Plato, and with the three whom Orpheus celebrates under the names of Phanes, Ouranus, and Cronus, though, according to him, the Demiurge is more particularly Phanes."*

* Procl. in Tim. 2. 93. Cory, p. 305.

Several others also mention the triple nature of the Deity, and "from the different Orphic fragments, we find," as Mr. Cory* observes, that "the Orphic trinity† consisted of

Metis,	Phanes or Eros,	Ericapæus :

which are interpreted,

Will, or Counsel.	Light, or Love.	Life, or Life-giver.

From Acusilaus :

Metis,	Eros,	Ether.

From Hesiod, according to Damascius :

Earth,	Eros,	Tartarus.

From Pherecydes of Syros :

Fire,	Water,	Spirit, or Air.

From the Sidonians :

Cronus,	Love,	CloudyDarkness.

From the Phœnicians :

Ulomus,	Chusorus,	The Egg.

From the Chaldæan and Persian oracles of Zoroaster :

Fire,	Sun,	Ether.
Fire,	Light,	Ether.

From the later Platonists :

Power,	Intellect,	Father.
Power,	Intellect,	Soul, or Spirit.

By the ancient theologists, according to Macrobius, the sun was invoked in the mysteries, as

Power of the world,	Light of the world,	Spirit of the world ;

* Cory, p. 355.

† The Orphic ceremonies, according to Herodotus, were the same as those of the Pythagoreans and Egyptians.

and to this may, perhaps, be added, from Sanconiatho, the three sons of Genus,

Fire, Light, Flame."

Plutarch* gives

Intelligence, Matter, *Kosmos*, beauty, order, or the world;

the first being the same as Plato's Idea, Exemplar, Or Father; the second, Mother, Nurse, Receptacle of generation; and the third, Offspring, Production.

"Of these three, intelligence, matter, and *Kosmos*," he says, "universal nature may be considered to be made up, and there is reason to conclude that the Egyptians were wont to liken this *nature* to what they called the most beautiful and perfect triangle, the same as Plato himself does in that nuptial diagram he has introduced into his *Commonwealth*. Now in this triangle, which is rectangular, the perpendicular is imagined equal to 3, the base to 4, and the hypothenuse to 5. In which scheme the perpendicular is designed to represent the masculine nature, the base the feminine, and the hypothenuse, the offspring of both; and accordingly, the first will apply to Osiris, or the prime cause; the second, to Isis the receptive power; and the last, to Orus, or the effect of the other two. For three is the first number composed of even and odd; four is a square, whose side is equal

* Plut. de Is. s. 56.

to the even number 2; but 5, being generated as it were out of both the preceding numbers, 2 and 3, may be said to bear an equal relation to both, as to its common parents. So, again, the mere word which signifies the universe of beings, is of a similar sound with this number (παντα, πεντε), as to *count five** is made use of for counting in general."

On the subject of numbers, the same author makes the following remarks: "It is my opinion, when the Pythagoreans appropriate the names of several of the Gods to particular numbers, as that of Apollo to the unit, of Diana to the duad, of Minerva to the 7, and of Neptune to the first cube†, that they allude to something which the founder of their sect saw in the Egyptian temples, to some ceremonies performed in them, or to some symbols there exhibited‡:" the same "Pythagoreans also look upon Typho to have been of the order of Demons, as, according to them, 'he was produced in the even number 56.' For as the power of the triangle is expressive of the nature of Pluto, Bacchus, and Mars; the properties of the square of Rhea, Venus, Ceres, Vesta, and Juno; and of the dodecagon of Jupiter; so (we

* The word "πεμπασασθαι" is taken from counting by the five fingers, — a primitive method in early times. The Egyptians sometimes represented the number 5 by a star, having, as usual, five rays; because, as Horapollo pretends, that is the number of the planets. Horapollo, i. 13.

† "Simplicius, in his Commentary on Aristotle's Treatise de Cœlo, tells us that a cube was called by the Pythagoreans, harmony, because it consists of twelve bounding lines, eight angles, and six sides; and twelve, eight, and six, are in harmonic proportion." *Vide* Taylor's Theor. Arithm. p. 155.

‡ Plut. s. 10.

are informed by Eudoxus) is the figure of 56 angles expressive of the nature of Typho."* They have likewise "a great detestation for the number† 17," and "call the 17th day of the month the day of obstruction;" "for the middle number 17, falling in between the square 16 and the parallelogram 18 (the only two plain numbers whose circumferences are equal to their areas), stops up the way between them, divides them from each other, and hinders them from uniting."

In another place‡, he says, "The Pythagoreans honour numbers and geometrical diagrams, with the names of the Gods: thus they call the equilateral triangle, head-born Minerva, and Tritogeneia, because it may be equally divided by three perpendicular lines, drawn from each of the angles: the Unit they term Apollo, as to the number two they have affixed the name of Strife and Audaciousness, and to that of three Justice; in like manner the number 36, their *tetrakys*, or sacred quaternion, being composed of the four first odd numbers added to the four first even ones, as is commonly reported, is looked upon by them as the most solemn oath they can take, and called *Kosmos* (the *world*, or *order*)." "To the *good principle* they give the names of 'the unit, the definite, the fixed, the strait, the odd, the square, the equal, the dextrous, and the lucid;' whilst to the *evil one* they give the appellation of 'the duad, the indefinite, the moveable, the crooked, the even, the oblong, the unequal, the sinistrous, and the dark.'"§

* Plut. s. 30.
† Ib. s. 42.
‡ Ib. s. 76.
§ Ib. s. 48.

Without entering into all the abstruse speculations respecting numbers, I shall add a few observations, principally in reference to the opinions entertained by the Egyptians.

"According to their doctrine, Thales defined numbers to be a collection of monads;" and "some of the Pythagoreans said that the monad was the confine of number and parts; for from it, as from a seed, and an eternal root, ratios are contrarily increased and diminished; some through a division to infinity being always diminished by a greater number, while others being increased to infinity are again augmented."* They also "called the monad intellect, male and female, God, chaos, *darkness*, Tartarus, Lethe, the axis, the Sun, and Pyralios, Morpho, the tower of Jupiter, Apollo, the prophet," and many other names; and Damascius, in his treatise Περι Αρχων, informs us that "the Egyptians asserted nothing of the first principle of things, but celebrated it as a thrice unknown *darkness* transcending all intellectual perception." To the duad they gave the appellation "audacity, matter, the cause of dissimilitude, the interval between multitude and the monad," ascribing it to Diana and some other Deities, to Fate and Death; and the triad was considered by them to be intellect, the origin of virtue, and to belong to Justice, Saturn†, and many other Di-

* *Vide* Taylor's Theoretic Arithmetic, p. 4.; and Aristotle.

† This number is observable in the "Tria virginis ora Dianæ," the trident of Neptune, the "trifidum fulmen Jovis," the three sons of Saturn, the three-headed Cerberus, the three Fates, the Graces, the Furies, the three judges of Hades, and others. The expression of Virgil

vinities. According to Servius, "they assigned the perfect number three to the Great God;" and the tetrad they looked upon as the greatest miracle, a God after another manner than the triad, a manifold, or rather every Divinity; peculiarly applied to Mercury, Vulcan, Hercules, and Bacchus; and they held that the power of the duad subsisted in the four. Thus Pythagoras asks, "How do you count?"—Mercury. "One, two, three, four."—Pyth. "Do you not see, that what are four to you, are ten and our oath?" those 1, 2, 3, 4, added together forming ten, and four containing every number within it. Four was particularly connected with Mercury, as the Deity who imparted intellectual gifts to man; to Vulcan it was assimilated as the demiurge, whence the τετρακτυς was the mystic name of the creative power; and three they looked upon as "embracing all human things."* "Know God," says Pythagoras, "who is number and harmony;" "the human soul," according to that philosopher, was "number moving itself;" and some styled *number* "the father of Gods and Men."

Many were the fanciful meanings attached to numbers, by the Pythagoreans, which it is unne-

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(Ecl. viii. 75.) "Numero Deus impare gaudet," applies to the same number, as is shown by the preceding verses:—

> "*Terna* tibi hæc primum *triplici* diversa colore
> Licia circumdo, *ter*que hæc altaria circum
> Effigiem duco:"

and by the "Necte *tribus* nodis *ternos*, . . . colores." Conf. Æn. vi. 229. et alib.

* "Παντα τα ανθρωπινα συνεχει."

cessary here to introduce: I shall therefore only observe, that the opinion respecting the 9 was, that "there could be no number beyond it, and that it circulates all numbers within itself, as is evident from the regression of numbers. For their natural progression is as far as 9; after which their retrogression takes place, 10 becoming once more the monad. Again, 9 being added to each of the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, and the rest, it will produce 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, &c.: no elementary number can therefore be beyond the ennead;" whence the Pythagoreans called it "ocean and the horizon, all numbers being comprehended by, and revolving within, it;" but the "decad was called heaven, being the most perfect boundary of number;" and some characterised numbers as the envelopes of beings.

That Pythagoras borrowed from Egypt his ideas on this subject, is highly probable: such appears to have been the opinion of the ancients themselves; and it would be curious to ascertain if our common multiplication table, for which we are indebted to that philosopher, was of Egyptian origin. It is however evident from modern discoveries in the language and writing of that people, that the numerical system of the Pythagoreans tallies with the formation of the Egyptian numbers, according to that mode of representing them in the hieratic character, which is applied to the days of the month, in the sense of the 1st, 2d, 3d, &c., where 1, 2, 3, and 4 alone, are perfect numbers; 5, 6, 7, and 8 being composed of 3 + 2, 3 + 3,

3 + 4, and 4 + 4*; 9, from its completing the series, being a single and perfect number, "circulating," as the Pythagoreans say, "all numbers within itself," and 10 commencing a new series, and "becoming again the monad."

The hieroglyphic numbers† are different, being arranged in units, tens, hundreds, and thousands; and the ordinary hieratic are partly formed from the hieroglyphic units, the 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, being ciphers, as is also one form of the 4. For an illustration of which and the former statement, I refer the reader to the accompanying Plate.‡

The speculations of later times have ascribed the same and some other significations to the numbers, as to

Equal to 10.

1. —Unity. Divine thought. Wisdom. Divinity. The universal principle, and centre of all.
2. —Will. Water. The two natures of man. Perversity.
3. —Action. Matter. Temporal immaterial agents who do not think.
4. —Intellect. Intellectual man. Wisdom. All that is active. Religion. Immaterial agents who think.
5. —The evil being. Idolatry. Self sufficiency. 3 + 2.
6. —Formation of the world. Radius, and

* *Vide* Plate 19. Part 1.

† *Vide* Plate 19. Part 2.

‡ For further accounts of the Egyptian numbers, see the Grammar of Champollion (vol. i.), by whom the numerical system commenced by Dr. Young was very fully demonstrated and carried out.

HIERATIC & ENCHORIAL NUMBERS APPLIED TO THE DAYS OF THE MONTH

N°	HIERATIC	ENCHORIAL
1st	1	1
2d	2	2
3d	3	3, 3
4th	7 4	2, 2
5th	23	23
6th	33	33
7th	37	32
8th	77, 44	22
9th	2	2
10th	1, 1	1
11th	11	11
12th	21	21
15th	23	231
20th	21	1
27th	371	321
28	771	221
29	211	21

FRACTIONAL NUMBERS

N°	HIEROGLYPHIC	HIERATIC
1/3	111	44
1/4	1111	44
1/6	111111	22
1/10	𓍢 1	11

N°	HIEROGLYPHIC	HIERATIC
1	𓏺	1, 1, 1
2	𓏺𓏺	4, 4
3	𓏺𓏺𓏺	44, 44
4	𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺	444, 444, 4
5	𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺, ✶	7, 7
6	𓏺𓏺𓏺 𓏺𓏺𓏺	22, 22
7	𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺	22, 44, 44
8	𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺 / 𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺	33, 33
9	𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺 / 𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺	2,
10	𓎆	𓎆, 𓎆, 𓎆
11	𓎆𓏺	𓎆𓎆, 𓎆𓎆
20	𓎆𓎆	𓎆𓎆, 𓎆
21	𓎆𓎆𓏺	𓎆𓎆𓎆, 𓎆
32	𓎆𓎆𓏺𓏺	𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆, 4
43	𓎆𓎆𓎆 / 𓏺𓏺𓏺	𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆, 44
54	𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆 / 𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺	𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆, 22
65	𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆 / 𓎆𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺	𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆, 44
76	𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆 / 𓎆𓎆𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺	𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆, 22
87	𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆 / 𓎆𓎆𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺	𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆, 44
98	𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆 / 𓎆𓎆𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺	𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆𓎆, 44

N°	HIEROGLYPHIC	HIERATIC
100	𓍢 𓍢	4, 4
200	𓍢𓍢	44, 44
300	𓍢𓍢𓍢	444, 444
400	𓍢𓍢𓍢𓍢	444, 444, 444
500	𓍢𓍢𓍢𓍢𓍢	77, 77
600	𓍢𓍢𓍢𓍢𓍢𓍢	777, 77
700	𓍢𓍢𓍢 𓍢𓍢𓍢	77, 77, 77
800	𓍢𓍢𓍢𓍢 𓍢𓍢𓍢𓍢	777, 777, 7
900	𓍢𓍢𓍢𓍢𓍢 𓍢𓍢𓍢𓍢	777, 777
1000	𓆼	𓎆
2,000	𓆼𓆼	𓎆, 𓎆
3,000	𓆼𓆼𓆼	𓎆𓎆, 𓎆
4,000	𓆼𓆼𓆼𓆼	𓎆𓎆, 𓎆𓎆
5000	𓆼𓆼𓆼𓆼𓆼	𓎆𓎆, 𓎆
6000	𓆼𓆼𓆼𓆼𓆼𓆼	𓎆𓎆𓎆, 𓎆𓎆
7000	𓆼𓆼𓆼𓆼𓆼𓆼𓆼	𓎆𓎆𓎆, 𓎆𓎆, 𓎆𓎆
8000	𓆼𓆼𓆼𓆼	𓎆𓎆𓎆, 𓎆𓎆𓎆
9000	𓆼𓆼𓆼𓆼𓆼	𓎆𓎆𓎆, 𓎆𓎆𓎆
1800	𓍢𓍢𓍢𓍢 / 𓍢𓍢𓍢𓍢	𓎆𓎆𓎆, 𓎆
2660	𓍢𓍢 𓍢𓍢𓍢𓍢 / 𓍢𓍢 𓍢𓍢𓍢𓍢	𓎆𓎆, 𓎆𓎆, 𓎆
10.000	𓁨	𓁨, 𓁨
70.000	𓁨	𓁨, 𓁨

the natural division of the circle. Piety. $3+3$.

7. —Source of man's intellectual and sensible properties. Relating to the end of the world. Love of esteem. Intellectual agents (having taken the place of man). $4+3$.

8. —Intellectuality both in body and soul. The divine united with the human nature. Love. Good will. Justice. $4+4$.

9. —Man not purified from sin. Physical envelope of man. Creation of the body, and its nature. Curiosity. The number of every spiritual limit. Intellect united with sin. $4+5$.

10. —Limit of all. Man purified from sin, returning by a new birth to unity, whence he proceeded. Decomposition of the circle, or the world.

Having now mentioned some of the numerous meanings attached to numbers*, I return from this digression to the consideration of the religious doctrines of the Egyptians.

The manifestation of the Deity, his coming upon earth for the benefit of mankind, and his expected interposition, were ideas which, even in the patriarchal times, had always been entertained, having been revealed to man from the earliest periods,

* It is unnecessary to point out those which so frequently occur in the Bible, and every one must perceive that the constant occurrence of 4, 7, and other numbers is not accidental.

and handed down through successive ages even to the time when that event took place; we are therefore less surprised to find it introduced into the religion of the Egyptians, and forming one of the most important tenets of their belief. Indeed, nothing can be more satisfactory, than this additional proof of its having been a tradition among the early inhabitants of the earth; and it was natural that the Egyptians should anticipate the fulfilment of this promise, and found thereon the great mystery of the relative connection between the Deity and mankind. The fact of this, and the doctrine of a trinity being entertained by so many distant nations, naturally leads to the inference that they had a common origin; and most persons will admit that they appear to have been derived from immediate revelation, or from the knowledge imparted to the early inhabitants of the world, rather than from accidental speculation in distant parts of the globe,—a remark which applies equally to the creation of man, the deluge, the ark or boat, and numerous mysterious doctrines common to different people.

From whatever source the Egyptians originally borrowed their ideas on these subjects, it is evident that they refined upon them, and rendered their metaphysical speculations so complicated, that it required great care and attention on the part of the initiated to avoid confusion, and to obtain a perfect understanding of their purport. Hence it happened that those, who had only obtained a limited insight into this intricate sub-

ject, speedily perverted the meaning of the very groundwork itself; and the Greeks and Romans, who were admitted to participate in a portion of those secrets, fell into a labyrinth of error, which gave to the whole system the character of an absurd fable. Indeed, they went still further, and taking literally certain enigmatical ceremonies, they converted speculative and abstract notions into physical realities, and debased the rites they borrowed from Egypt by the most revolting and profane excesses, tending to make religion ridiculous, and to obviate all the purposes for which it had been instituted. For, however erroneous the notions of the ancients were, however mistaken in the nature of the Deity, and however much truth was obscured by the worship of a plurality of Gods, still the morality inculcated by religion and practised by good men was deserving of commendation; and we cannot but censure those who degraded what was good, and added to error by the misapplication of mysterious secrets.

This perversion of certain allegorical rites, and the misinterpretations given by the Greeks and Romans to some religious customs of the Egyptians, have, in many instances, led to the idea that the priesthood of Thebes and Memphis, under the plea of religion, were guilty of enormities, which would shock the most depraved; and an erroneous judgment has been formed from the mode in which the worship of Osiris was conducted by his votaries at Rome. I will not pretend to say that the Romans did not find the ceremonies of that worship

already degraded, in the Græco-Egyptian city of Alexandria: this is highly probable; but the reason of its perversion there resulted from the same cause as at Rome — the misapplication by foreign votaries of tenets they failed to comprehend; for it may be doubted if such rites were at any time known to the Egyptians; and if any external ceremonies carried with them an appearance of indelicacy, they were merely emblematic representations, as in the case of the phallic figures, indicating the generative principle of nature. Here, as usual with the Egyptians, it was the abstract idea which alone occurred to the mind of those who understood the religion they professed; but the Greeks and Romans, owing to the grossness of their imaginations, saw nothing beyond the external form that presented itself to the eye, and instead of the power, or abstract cause, they merely thought of its physical character. Hence the absurd worship of the mere agent in lieu of a first cause, and hence, in consequence, all those revolting scenes, by which religion was degraded, and the human mind corrupted; the more deplorable, since mankind is ever prone to commit the greatest excesses when their acts are believed to have the sanction of religion. Indeed, even at a time when speculative doctrines have not yet suffered any gross perversion of their principles, the ignorance and credulity of man frequently distort what is reasonable; and some minds are not possessed of sufficient judgment to separate the really religious, from the su-

perstitious part of their creed, or to discriminate between the mysterious or metaphysical, the fabulous, and the moral.

A remarkable instance of the perverted meaning of a religious custom, by the ignorance of Greek and Roman writers, occurs in the Pallacides or Pellices of Amun, mentioned by Diodorus * and Strabo. The former, it is true, only describes them under the name of παλλακιδες (Pallacides) of Jupiter, in noticing their tombs; but Strabo † asserts that, at Thebes, "a virgin, conspicuous for birth and beauty, was sacrificed to Jupiter, the Deity of that city, and that a class of persons, called *pellices* (harlots), dedicated to his service, were permitted to cohabit with any one they chose."

That certain women, of the first families of the country, were devoted to the service of the God of Thebes, is perfectly true, as I have had occasion ‡ already to remark; and they were the same whom Herodotus mentions under the name of γυναικας ιρηιας §, or "sacred women, consecrated to the Theban Jove." The statement of Diodorus, that their sepulchres were distant from the tomb of Osymandyas ten stadia, or little more than 6000 feet, agrees perfectly with the position of those where the Queens and princesses were buried ‖, in the Necropolis of Thebes; and is highly satisfactory, from its confirming the opinion formed from the sculptures, respecting the office they held. For

* Diodor. i. 47.
† Strabo, xvii. p. 561.
‡ *Suprà*, Vol. I. p. 258.
§ Herodot. ii. 54. and i. 182.
‖ *Vide* my Egypt and Thebes, p. 80.

though we are unable to ascertain the exact duties they performed, it is evident that they assisted in the most important ceremonies of the temple, in company with the monarch himself, holding the sacred emblems which were the badge of their office; and the importance of the post is sufficiently evinced by the fact that the wives and daughters of the noblest families of the country, of the high-priests, and of the Kings themselves, were proud to enjoy the honour it conferred. Such being the case, shall we not reject with contempt so ridiculous a story, and learn from it how little reliance is to be placed on the Greek and Roman accounts of the rites of Egypt? And, indeed, if this absurd tale were not refuted by the sculptures of Thebes, mere reason would tell the most credulous that a custom so revolting to human nature, and so directly at variance with the habits of a civilised nation, could not possibly have existed in any country where morality was protected by severe laws, or have been tolerated by the Egyptians, who were unquestionably the most pious of all the Heathen nations of antiquity.

To depend upon the Greek theogony for the nature and character of the Egyptian Deities, is equally useless; and though in some we may trace the same origin, and perceive the same primitive idea which suggested their attributes, so little reliance can be placed upon the resemblance, and so little certainty is there of their not having been altered by the Greeks, that the information obtained from this source can seldom be admitted, unless

confirmed in some degree by the Egyptian monuments. No stronger instance of this is required than in the case of the God Anubis, who is repeatedly stated by Greek and Roman writers to have borne the head of a dog, and who is invariably represented by the Egyptians with that of a jackal, or even under the form of the entire animal; and this, with several similar misconceptions, may serve to give some idea of the confusion into which they would lead us respecting the theogony of the Egyptians. However, as is sometimes the case, amidst this confusion, slight traces may be observed of the original system from which the Greeks derived their notions; and as Amun, the principal member of the Theban trinity, and King of the Gods *, was distinct from the Monad, or sole Deity in Unity, so Jupiter, though considered by the Greeks to be King of the Gods, was merely a deified attribute of the Deity.

It is evident that the philosophers of Greece were constantly guilty of misconceptions respecting the very principles of the Egyptian religion, and some† believed that "the Egyptians ignorantly employed material fables, considering and calling corporeal natures Divinities, — such as Isis, earth; Osiris, humidity; or Typho, heat;" without distinguishing between the different conditions of metaphysical, physical, and other objects of worship.

In Greek mythology, some of the fables are al-

* *Vide infrà*, p. 208., where I have shown the error of making Saturn, the father of Jupiter, the same as the Egyptian Seb.

† Sallust on the Gods and the World, chap. iv., quoted by Taylor, Introd. to Plato, p. 39.

legorical, some moral, some physical, some historical, and some again are mere metaphysical speculations. This, however, seems only in part to apply to the theogony of the Egyptians, whose religion was founded on a different basis, or who, at all events, made the physical and historical portions subservient to, rather than a part of, their system ; and if they had even in early times interwoven any events of history in their religion, they expunged them at a subsequent period, and gave to their religion a metaphysical character, totally unconnected with the tales of their origin, or the colonisation of their country. Indeed, history seems so entirely excluded from their mythological system, and so completely a thing apart from it, that we may doubt if it was admitted into it even at the earliest periods ; and if, in the chronicles of Egypt, mention is made of the reign of certain Gods upon earth, we may be persuaded that these are merely an allegorical mode of stating facts which really happened, and are totally unconnected with the tenets of their religion. For, independent of the positive assurances of the Egyptians themselves that no Deity ever lived on earth, we are relieved from the difficulty this appears to present, by the simple suggestion* that the rule of the Gods refers to that of the different colleges of priests of those Deities, which successively held the sovereign power, when Egypt was ruled by a Hierarchy, previous to the election of a King.

* This was also the opinion of the learned Larcher.

That the periods assigned for the duration of these reigns are totally inadmissible, is evident; but dates in the early history of many people are equally vague and arbitrary, even where there is no reason to doubt the truth of the events to which they are affixed.

In the history of ancient nations, the early portion usually consists of mere fable, either from real events having been clothed in an allegorical garb, or from the substitution of purely fanciful tales for facts, in consequence of the deficiency of real data: to this succeeds an era when, as manners and habits become settled, amidst fable and allegory, some descriptions of actual events are introduced; and at length history, assuming the exalted character that becomes it, is contented with the simple narration of fact, and fable is totally discarded. But such is the disposition in the human mind to believe the miraculous, that, even at a period when no one would dare to introduce a tale of wonder unsupported by experience, credit still continues to be attached to the traditions of early history, as though the sanction of antiquity were sufficient to entitle impossibilities to implicit belief. A pure fable is credited, allegories are taken as real events, and no one dares to withdraw the veil which clothes substantial facts in an almost transparent allegory; as few Romans in the Augustan age would venture to doubt the miraculous kindness of their founder's wolf, or the real existence of the Egerian nymph.

The religion of the Greeks bears the evidence

of having been formed upon popular legends, or fairy tales, to which a superstructure derived from metaphysical speculation was afterwards added; and though many of their Deities were of Egyptian origin*, the office and character of some seem rather attributable to accidental analogy, discovered at a subsequent period, with those of the Egyptians, and other people whose religion had been long modelled into a systematic form, than to any positive notions they previously had upon the subject. And thus we may account for the inconsistency of Jupiter being considered the same as Amun, one of the eight great Gods of Egypt, and Saturn his father as one of the second order of Deities; an error which originated in Seb being the parent of Osiris and Isis, and having in Egypt the title of "Father of the Gods."

Many of their popular legends may have been the offspring of foreign notions, accidentally received from other people, and altered by time or local prejudices; and when we recollect that the mythology of Greece was chiefly invented, or at least arranged, by the poets, we may readily account for the unsubstantial texture of its construction.†

In the history of Greece, the admission of mythological tales was much more resorted to than in that of Rome, where events may be more readily traced than in the fabulous accounts of Greek writers; and though the Romans sacrificed truth to their

* *Vide suprà*, p. 3., and Banier, Mythol. vol. i. pp. 25. 28. 44. 66, 67. 76. 80. 83, 84. 115. 118. 121. 189. 303. &c.

† *Vide suprà.*

excessive vanity in many statements put forth in their early history, they did not permit the adventures of the Gods to form part of the actions of men, in order to account for ordinary occurrences, or to ennoble the pedigree of simple individuals. The same remark applies to the history of the Egyptians; and, however they may have clothed the mysteries of their religion in allegorical fable, they neither derived their origin from Deities, nor degraded the nature of the Divinity by bringing it down to the level of mankind. But if historical fable did not form part of the belief of the Egyptians, and if their religious system was distinct from the records of past events, allegory and moral fable were admitted without reserve, and physical emblems were used as the representatives of abstract notions. Indeed, though the main feature of their religion was metaphysical speculation, we find that physical objects entered into the system; and it is probable that the worship of external objects, as the Sun and other heavenly bodies, formed at an early period a principal part of their religious worship.

The two main principles on which the religion of Egypt was based, appear to be, the existence of an omnipotent Being, whose various attributes being deified, formed a series of Divinities, each worshipped under its own peculiar form, and supposed to possess its particular office; and the deification of the Sun and Moon, from which it might appear that a sort of Sabæan worship had once formed part of the Egyptian creed.

The Sun, being the chief of heavenly bodies, was considered a fit type of dominion and power; and the idea of an intellectual Sun was merely the union of the abstract notion of a primary agent with the apparent and visible object.

For the Sun was both a physical and metaphysical Deity, and under these two characters were worshipped Re and Amun-re, the real Sun, the ruler of the world, in the firmament, and the ideal ruler of the universe as King of the Gods.

Of the allegorical portion * of their religion we have frequent instances, as in the story of Isis and Osiris, whose supposed adventures, according to one interpretation, represented the Nile and its inundation: and numerous other natural phænomena were in like manner typified by figurative or emblematical conceits.

The Gods had also their peculiar symbols, which frequently stood not only for the name, but also for the figure, of the Deity they indicated; as the Cynocephalus ape was the sign and substitute for Thoth; the hawk and globe indicated the Sun, and the crocodile was the representative of the God Savak.

Nor were moral emblems wanting in the religion of the Egyptians; the figure of Justice with her eyes closed purported that men were to be guided by impartiality in their duties towards their neighbours; the rat in the hand of the statue of Sethos at Memphis recorded a supposed miracle, and urged men to confide in the Deity; and the tender

* *Vide* Banier, Mytholog. vol. i. c. 3. p. 52., on the fables of the Greeks; and p. 175., on the theogony of Egypt.

solicitude of Isis for her husband was held up as an example worthy the emulation of every wife.

Many were the allegorical and symbolical beings who formed part of their Pantheon; and not only was every attribute of the Divinity made into a separate Deity, but Genii, or imaginary Gods, were invented to assume some office, either in relation to the duties or future state of mankind. Even the Genius of a town, a river, or a district, was created in imagination, and worshipped as a God; and every month and day, says Herodotus *, were consecrated to a particular Deity.

It may reasonably be supposed that in early times the religion of Egypt was more simple, and free from the complicated host of fanciful beings who at a later period filled a station in the catalogue of their Gods; and that the only objects of worship in the valley of the Nile were, 1°, the deified attributes of the creative power, and of the divine intellect; 2°, the Sun and Moon, whose visible power has so generally been an object of veneration among mankind in the early ages of the world; and, 3°, we may add, the president of that future state to which the souls of the dead were supposed to pass after they had left their earthly envelope. It is difficult to decide whether the Egyptians had originally the belief in a future state, or if the immortality of the soul was a doctrine suggested at a later period, when philosophy had remodelled their religious notions; suffice it to say that the oldest monuments which remain bear ample evidence of its having been their

* Herodot. ii. 82.

belief at the earliest periods of which any records exist, and Osiris the judge and president of Amenti is mentioned in tombs belonging to cotemporaries of the Kings who erected the pyramids, upwards of 2000 years before our era. Indeed, if at any early period the religion of Egypt bore a different character, or if any great change took place in its doctrines, this must have been long before the foundation of the monuments that remain; and, with the exception of some addition to the catalogue of minor Deities, and an alteration in the name of Amun*, we perceive no change in the religion from the earliest times to the reigns of the Ptolemies and Cæsars. That several Genii, or minor Gods, particularly those who were supposed to perform inferior functions in a future state, and some local Divinities, were added at various periods, is highly probable, but no change appears to have taken place in the form of worship, or in the main tenets of the religion: the ceremonies of the temple may have become more splendid, the offerings more rich, or the increased dimensions of the temples may have admitted a larger number of contemplar Gods; and in the time of the Ptolemies and Cæsars the rites of Osiris may have become more generally preferred; but no change was effected in the religion itself, and the preference given to any peculiar Deity was only what had always happened in Egypt, where each town or district paid the greatest honours to the God who was supposed immediately to preside over it. Even the alter-

* I shall have occasion to mention this afterwards in Ch. 13.

ation which took place in the name of Amun, and the introduction of the worship of the Sun with rays, represented at Tel-el-Amarna, and some other places, about the time of the 18th Dynasty, cannot be looked upon as changes in the religion; and Sarapis, of foreign introduction, was obliged to conform to the customs of the Pantheon, to which he was rather attached, than admitted, by the caprice of a foreign monarch.

Unfortunately, an impenetrable veil, concealing from our view the earliest periods of Egyptian history, forbids us to ascertain the original character of the religion; we are introduced to it as to the civilisation of that people, when already fully perfected; and we can only speculate on its previous condition, before metaphysical theories had modelled it into the form in which we now behold it in the sculptures of the existing monuments.

Before we proceed to inquire into the nature and attributes of the Gods, it may not be improper to examine the opinions of Greek writers, respecting the Theogony of Egypt. Diodorus *, who seems to borrow his ideas respecting the creation of the world from the Egyptians, says, that in the beginning the heavens and earth had only one form, being united in their nature; but having become separated afterwards, the world took the character we now behold. By the movement of the atmosphere, the igneous parts rose, which gave to the Sun and other heavenly bodies their rotatory movement; and a solid matter was precipitated to

* Diodor. ii. 7.

form the sea and earth, from which fish and animals were produced, nearly in the same manner as we still see in Egypt, where an infinity of insects and other creatures come forth from the mud, after it has been inundated by the waters of the Nile.* "Eusebius," as the Abbé Banier remarks, "has justly observed that this system, as well as that of the Phœnicians, which is derived from the same source, gives to the Creator no part in the formation of the universe. To confirm his opinion, he quotes a passage of Porphyry, who, in his epistle to Anebo, an Egyptian priest, writes, that Chæremon† and others had thought that nothing was anterior to this visible world; that the planets and stars were the real Gods of the Egyptians, and that the sun ought to be looked upon as the guardian of the universe; and it may be remarked, that the summary of Egyptian theology given by Diogenes Laertius from Manetho and Hecatæus is in the same spirit, which considers that matter was the first principle, and the Sun and Moon the first Deities, of that people. It has, however, been shown from Eusebius, that the Egyptians believed in an intelligent Being called Cneph, who presided over the formation of the world. Porphyry states that they represented him under the figure of a man holding a girdle and a sceptre, with large feathers on his head, from whose mouth an egg proceeded, out of which another Deity came, called by them Phtha, and by the Greeks Vulcan:

* Conf. Ovid. Met. i. 8., v. 422.; and Plin. ix. 58.
† *Vide* Cory, p. 287.

and according to their explanation of this mysterious figure, the feathers denoted the hidden and invisible nature of this intelligence, the power it had of giving life, the dominion over all things, and the spirituality of its movements; and the egg which came from his mouth indicated the world, of which he was the maker. This opinion is confirmed by the testimony of Iamblichus, who, in the time of Eusebius, applied himself to the study of Egyptian theology, and who endeavours to prove what Chæremon had stated, that the general belief of the Egyptians was not that an inanimate Being was the cause of all things, but that in the world, as well as in ourselves, they recognised the soul superior to nature, and the intelligence which created the world superior to the soul."

But I have already shown how unsatisfactory are the opinions of Greek writers respecting the religion of the Egyptians; and, with the exception of a few notions, which may be gleaned from the tenets of those who had studied, and were initiated into, the mysteries of Egypt, little can be learnt of their philosophy, or their religious system. Iamblichus, Plato, and some others, indeed, have contributed to throw some light on the subject, and the former gives the following account of the Cosmogony of Egypt from the ancient Hermetic books.

"Before all things that essentially exist*, and before the total principles, there is one God, prior to the first God and King, remaining immoveable

* This is the translation given in Mr. Cory's valuable collection of "Ancient Fragments," p. 283.

in the solitude of his Unity; for neither is the Intelligible immixed with him, nor is any other thing. He is established, the exemplar of the God who is the father of himself, self-begotten, the only father, who is truly good. For he is something greater, and the first, the fountain of all things, and the root of all primary Intelligible Existing forms. But out of this one, the self-ruling God made himself shine forth; wherefore he is the father of himself, and self-ruling: for he is the first Principle, and God of Gods. He is the Monad from the One, before essence, yet the first principle of essence, for from him is entity and essence; on which account he is celebrated as the chief of the Intelligibles. These are the most ancient principles of all things, which Hermes places first in order, before the ethereal and empyrean Gods, and the celestial.

"But, according to another division, he (Hermes) places the God Emeph*, as the ruler of the celestial Gods; and says that he is Intellect, understanding himself, and converting other intelligences to himself. And before this he places the indivisible One, which he calls the first Effigies, denominating him Eicton; in whom, indeed, is the first Intellect, and the first Intelligible; and *this One is venerated in Silence.* Besides these, other rulers are imagined to exist, which govern the fabrication of things apparent; for the demiurge intellect, which properly presides over truth and wisdom, when it proceeds to generation, and leads

* Generally supposed to be a mistake for Κνεφ (Neph).

forth *into light* the inapparent power of the secret reasons, is called Amôn, according to the Egyptian tongue; and when it perfects all things not deceptively, but artificially according to truth, Phtha; but the Greeks change the word Phtha into Hephæstus, looking only to the artificial; regarded as the producer of good things, it is called Osiris; and, according to its other powers and attributes, it has different appellations.

"There is also, according to them, another certain principle presiding over all the elements in a state of generation, and over the powers inherent in them, four of which are male, and four female; and this principle they attribute to the Sun. There is yet another principle of all nature, regarded as the ruler over generation, and this they assign to the Moon. They divide the heavens also into two parts, or into four, twelve, or thirty-six, or the doubles of these; they attribute to them leaders more or less in number, and over them they place one whom they consider superior to them all. Hence, from the highest to the last, the doctrine of the Egyptians concerning the principles, inculcates the origin of all things from One*, with different gradations to the many; which (the many) are again held to be under the supreme government of the One; and the nature of the Boundless is considered entirely subservient to the nature of the Bounded, and the Supreme Unity the cause of all things. And God produced matter from the materiality of the sepa-

* "Homer even exempts the demiurgic monad from all the multitude of Gods." Taylor's Introduct. to Plato's Republic, p. 147.

rated essence, which, being of a vivific nature, the Demiurgus took it, and fabricated from it the harmonious and imperturbable spheres; but the dregs of it he employed in the fabrication of generated and perishable bodies." *

Another idea of the origin of things is thus explained in what are termed the modern Hermetic books. "The glory of all things is God, and Deity, and divine Nature. The principle of all things existing is God, and the intellect, and nature, and matter, and energy, and Fate and *conclusion*, and *renovation*. For these were boundless darkness in the abyss, and water, and a subtile Spirit, intellectual in power, existing in Chaos. But the holy light broke forth, and the Elements were produced from among the sand of a watery Essence." †

Iamblichus says‡, that "Cheræmon and some others, who treat of the first causes of the phænomena of the world, enumerate in reality *only the lowest principles;* and those who mention the planets, the zodiac, the dreams, and horoscopes, and the stars termed mighty chiefs, confine themselves to particular departments of the productive causes. Such topics, indeed, as are contained in the Almanacs, constitute but a very small part of the institutions of Hermes; and all that relates to the apparitions or occultations of the stars, or the increasings or wanings of the Moon, has the *lowest*

* Iamblichus, sect. viii. c. 2. 3.
† Serm. Sac. lib. 3. *Vide* Cory, p. 286.
‡ Iambl. sect. viii. c. 4.

place in the Egyptian doctrine of *causes*. *Nor do the Egyptians resolve all things into physical qualities;* but they distinguish both the animal and intellectual life from nature itself, not only in the universe, but in man. They consider intellect and reason in the first place, as existing by themselves, and on this principle they account for the creation of the world." He also states, that "they rank first the Demiurge, as the parent of all things which are produced, and acknowledge that vital energy which is prior to, and subsists in, the heavens, placing pure intellect at the head of the universe; and they allot one invisible soul to the whole world, and another divided one to all the spheres."

I now extract a few observations respecting the outlines of the principal dogmas of Plato, from the Introductory Essay of his translator. * "According to Plato, the highest God, whom in the Republic he calls *good*, and in the Parmenides *the one*, is not only above soul and intellect, but is even superior to being itself. Hence, since everything which can in any respect be known, or of which anything can be asserted, must be connected with the universality of things, but the first cause, being above all things, is very properly said by Plato to be perfectly ineffable. The first hypothesis, therefore, of his Parmenides, in which all things are denied of this immense principle, concludes as follows: — The one, therefore, *is* in no respect. So it seems. Hence it is not in such a manner as *to*

* Taylor's Trans. of Plato, Introd. p. v.

be one, for thus it would be *being*, and participate of *essence;* but as it appears, *the one* neither *is one*, nor *is*, if it be proper to believe in reasoning of this kind. It appears so. But can anything either belong to, or be affirmed of, that which is not? How can it? Neither, therefore, does any *name* belong to it, nor *discourse*, nor any *science*, nor *sense*, nor *opinion*. It does not appear that there can. Hence it can neither be *named*, nor *spoken of*, nor *conceived by opinion*, nor be *known*, nor *perceived* by any being. So it seems." . . . . Prior to *the one*, therefore, is that which is simply and perfectly ineffable, without position, uncoordinated, and incapable of being apprehended. . . . From this truly ineffable principle, exempt from all Essence, power, and energy, a multitude of divine natures, according to Plato, immediately proceed. . . . . He affirms (in the sixth book of his Republic), that *the good*, or the ineffable principle of things, is superessential, and shows the analogy of the Sun to *the good*, that what *light* and sight are in the visible, *truth* and *intelligence* are in the intelligible world. As light, therefore, immediately proceeds from the Sun, and wholly subsists according to a solar idiom or property, so *truth*, or the immediate progeny of *the good*, must subsist according to a superessential idiom. And as *the good*, according to Plato, is the same with *the one*, the immediate progeny of *the one* will be the same as that of *the good*. . . . Self-subsistent superessential natures are the immediate progeny of *the one*, if it be lawful thus to

denominate things which ought rather to be called ineffable unfoldings into light, from the ineffable; for progeny implies a producing cause, and *the one* must be conceived as something even more excellent than this. From this divine self-perfect and self-producing multitude, a series of self-perfect natures, viz. of beings, lives, intellects, and souls, proceeds, according to Plato, in the last link of which luminous series he also classes the human soul*, proximatively suspended from the dæmoniacal order; for this order, he clearly asserts in the Banquet†, "stands in the middle rank between the divine and human, fills up the vacant space, and links together all intelligent nature."

According to Plato‡, the Egyptians supposed the world to be subject to occasional deluges and conflagrations, as a punishment for the wickedness of mankind; and the returns of the great catastrophe were fixed by them according to the period of their *great year*, "which Aristotle calls the greatest, rather than the great," when the Sun and Moon and all the planets returned to the same sign whence they had started: "the winter of which year was the deluge, and its summer the conflagration of the world."§ The notion of the deterioration of man, and the fables of the golden and iron ages, were also of Egyptian origin, and the story of the Atlantic Island‖ having been

* *Vide* also Plato's Timæus, p. 508. *et seq.*

† See Vol. III. p. 500. See also a copious account of the nature of dæmons, in the note at the beginning of the first Alcibiades, Vol. I.

‡ Plato, Critias.

§ Censorin. de Die Nat.

‖ Plato, Tim. p. 469. Taylor's Transl.; and Critias.

submerged, was said to have been derived by Solon from the same source.

Plato supposed that the Deity delegated the power of creating to beings inferior to himself, denominated dæmons; perhaps, with the notion that man alone, who was exclusively gifted with intellect, was the work of the Deity himself*; and Plutarch†, in speaking of these intermediate beings, observes, "that some suppose what is related of Isis, Osiris, and Typho, to be the adventures of the grand Dæmons or Genii; an order of beings, which some of the wisest of the Greeks philosophers, as Plato, Pythagoras, Xenocrates, and Chrysippus, agreeably to what they learnt from the ancient theologists, believed to be much more powerful than mankind, and of a nature superior to them, though inferior to the pure nature of the Gods, as partaking of the sensations of the body, as well as of the perceptions of the soul, and consequently liable to pain or pleasure, and to all other appetites and affections; which affections were supposed to have a greater influence over some than others, different degrees of virtue and vice being found in these Genii, as in man." According to Plato, they were "a middle order of beings between Gods and men, interpreters of the will of the former to mankind, ministering to their wants, carrying their prayers to heaven, and bringing down from thence, in return, oracles, and all other blessings of life;" and, as Empedocles supposed, "obnoxious to punishment for whatever

* *Vide suprà*, p. 186. note ‡.
† Plut. de Is. s. 25.

crimes they committed, until, having undergone their distinct punishment, and thereby become pure, they were again admitted to their primitive situation, in the region originally designed for them."

Of the Pythagorean doctrines, which were principally borrowed from Egypt, a summary account is given by "Timæus the Locrian.* The causes of all things are two. Intellect, of those which are produced according to reason; and necessity, of those which necessarily exist according to the powers of bodies. Of these, the first is of the nature of good, and is called God, the principle of such things as are most excellent. Those which are consequent, and concauses, rather than causes, may be referred to necessity, and they consist of Idea, or Form, and Matter, to which may be added the sensible (world), which is, as it were, the offspring of these two. The first of these is an essence ungenerated, immoveable, and stable, of the nature of Same, and the intelligible exemplar of things generated, which are in a state of perpetual change; and this is called Idea or Form, and is to be comprehended only by Mind. But Matter is the receptacle of Form, the mother and female principle of the generation of the third Essence, for by receiving the likenesses upon itself, and being stamped with Form, it perfects all things, partaking of the nature of generation. And this matter, he says, is eternal, moveable, and of its own proper nature, without form or

* Cory, p. 301.

figure, yet susceptible of receiving every form; it is divisible also about bodies, and is of the nature of Different. They also call matter, 'Place, and Situation.' These two, therefore, are contrary principles: Idea or Form is of the nature of male and father; but Matter, of the nature of female and mother; and things which are of the third nature, are the offspring of the two. Since then there are three natures, they are comprehended in three different ways; Idea, which is the object of science, by Intellect; Matter, which is not properly an object of comprehension, but only of analogy, by a spurious kind of reasoning; but things compounded of the two are the objects of sensation and opinion, or appearance. Therefore, before the heaven was made, there existed in reality, Idea and Matter, and God, the demiurgus of the better nature: and since the nature of Elder (continuance) is more worthy than that of Younger (novelty), and order than of disorder; God in his Goodness, seeing that Matter was continually receiving form, and changing in an omnifarious and disordered manner, undertook to reduce it to order, and put a stop to its indefinite changes, by circumscribing it with a determinate figure; that there might be corresponding distinctions of bodies, and that it might not be subject to continual variations of its own accord. Therefore he fabricated this world out of all the matter, and constituted it the boundary of essential nature, comprising all things within itself, one, only-begotten, perfect, with a soul and intellect (for an

animal so constituted is superior to one devoid of soul and intellect): he gave it also a spherical body, for such of all other forms is the most perfect. Since, therefore, it was God's pleasure to render this his production most perfect, he constituted it a God, generated indeed, but indestructible by any other cause than by the God who made it, in case it should be his pleasure to dissolve it."

From the statement of Iamblichus, we perceive that the Monad or Deity in Unity preceded the trinity or triad, by which all things were created, and that what was denominated the first God, or King of the Gods, also existed, like the Monad, before the formation of the world. These Deities are, therefore, 1. The God, the Monad, or Deity in Unity; 2. The first God, or first principle, chief of Intelligibles: or, 1. Eicton, the first effigies, the indivisible one; 2. Emeph (Kneph?) the ruler of the Gods, Intellect understanding himself. This Intellect, when it proceeds to generation, is called Amun, the Demiurge Intellect; Phthah, when it perfects all things with truth; or Osiris, when regarded as the author of good; or other names according to its different offices and powers. There are also the principles presiding over the elements in a state of generation, and over the powers in them, four of which are male, and four female; one of them being the *Sun*, and another the *Moon*. Then follows another class of the rulers of the heavens, which is divided into two parts.

Dr. Prichard thinks that Pthah "is the masculo-

feminine Being of the Orphic philosophy, produced in the Chaotic Egg and acting upon its elements;" and quotes this passage of Horapollo* in support of his opinion: — "The world seems to the Egyptians to consist of a masculine and feminine nature, and they designate Minerva by a vulture (and a beetle), and Vulcan by a beetle (and a vulture); for these are the only Gods which are represented by the Egyptians as having a double nature, or as being both masculine and feminine." He thence concludes with Jablonski, that "the Goddess, whom the Greeks call Minerva, and who was worshipped at Saïs, was the counterpart of Phthas, or the same Being in his feminine character." But this is not supported by the evidence of the monuments, nor is there any relation between Pthah and the Egyptian Minerva.

I have here, and in other places, introduced several theories of Greek and Roman writers on the subject of mythology, and have mentioned some of the speculations of philosophers who studied in or visited Egypt. But I must not omit to observe that the opinions of late writers, as Porphyry, Iamblichus, Proclus, and all the new Platonists of the Alexandrian school, should be admitted with considerable caution. Though many of their speculations were derived from an Egyptian source, the original was often even more than *parcè distorta;* and no doctrine of theirs can be accepted as illustrative of Egyptian notions, which is not confirmed by the monuments, or expressly stated to be taken from the philosophy, of Egypt.

* Horapollo, lib. i. c. 12.

The works of Plato and other more ancient writers evidently contain much that owes its origin to the knowledge they acquired from the Egyptians, and Pythagoras imitated many notions of his instructors with scrupulous precision. Such authorities are of the greatest use in the examination of the dogmas of this people, and they had the advantage of studying them at a time and place, in which religion was not exposed to fanciful innovations. But when it had been encumbered with the superstructure of arbitrary fancy, which the schools of Alexandria heaped upon it, the original form became distorted, meanings were attached to various symbols which they never possessed, and the attributes of one Deity were ignorantly assigned to another of a totally different character. I have already had occasion to notice the misconceptions of the Greeks and Romans on the most ordinary subjects connected with the religion of Egypt; and little reliance can be placed upon their information respecting the abstruse and recondite speculations of the Egyptian philosophers, when they changed the very forms of well-known Deities, and mistook the attributes of those which were presented to them on every monument.

I now proceed to compare the statements of Herodotus and others with data derived from the monuments. If it be true that the number of the great Gods of the Egyptians was limited to eight, we may suppose them to be —

1. Neph, or Kneph.
2. Amun, or Amun-Re.
3. Phthah, or Pthah.
4. Khem.

5. Sáté.
6. Maut (or perhaps Buto ?).
7. Bubastis ?.
8. Neith.

Re, or Ra*, the physical Sun, might also appear to enjoy an equal claim to a rank among the great Gods of Egypt: and in a former work† I had introduced that Deity instead of Bubastis; but it is more probable that Amun-Re and Re were not of the same class of Deities, as the intellectual was of a more exalted nature than the physical Sun.

From Re proceeded a number of other Deities, and the most remarkable of those styled the offspring of the Sun, are the Goddess of Truth or Justice, Ao, Tafnet, Selk, and Nehimeou.

Herodotus mentions the eight great Gods, but without giving their names. He states, however, that Pan‡ (Khem) and Latona§ (Buto) were among the number, and that to the eight great Gods succeeded twelve others of inferior rank, who were followed by the minor Deities. These last consisted of many different grades, according to their character and office; and besides the heavenly and infernal Deities, were Genii of various kinds, as well as inferior Divinities, worshipped in particular places, or by certain individuals. Diodorus‖ seems to agree in the *number* of eight great Gods¶; giving the names of "the Sun, Saturn, Rhea, Jupiter (called by some Ammon), Juno, Vulcan, Vesta, and Mercury." Chæremon thinks they

* It was written Re, and pronounced Ra.
† Materia Hieroglyphica, p. 2. ‡ Herodot. ii. 145.
§ Herodot. ii. 156. ‖ Diodor. i. 13. *Vide suprà*, p. 185.
¶ Though not directly stated, he evidently means the Gods of Egypt.

were ten. Twelve and eight were the numbers applied to the Dii Consentes and Selecti of the Romans; but of these the twelve held the first rank.

From Seb also, who was confounded by the Greeks with Saturn, other Gods proceeded, and the offspring of this Deity and Netpe were Osiris, Isis, Aroeris, Typho, and Nephthys.

According to Manetho's Chronology, given by Syncellus, two dynasties of Gods preceded the first Kings of Egypt; one consisting of seven Gods, the other of sixteen Demigods.

Gods.	Years.	Days.
Vulcan, who reigned	724½	and 4
The Sun	86	
Agathodæmon	56½	— 10
Cronus, Saturn	40½	
Osiris }	35	
Isis }		
Typho	29	

Demigods.	Years.
Horus, who reigned	25
Mars	23
Anubis	17
Hercules	15
Apollo	25
Ammon	30
Tithoes	27
Zosus	32
Zeus	20

The usual mode of accounting for this reign of the Gods is by referring it to the time during which the priests of each Deity held the supreme authority, when Egypt was governed by a hierarchy, previous to the election of a King; but great doubts are thrown on the accuracy of this list of Deities from its inconsistency, the names of some of the great Gods being classed in the order of Demigods.

It were to be wished that more dependance could be placed on the accounts of Herodotus and other Greek writers; but when they so erro-

neously suppose that the statues of the Theban Jupiter (Amun) "represented him with the head of a ram*," and that "Pan was called Mendes† by the Egyptians," and "figured by them, as by the Greeks, with the head and legs of a goat," we must despair of obtaining correct information upon the subject before us, and only receive their evidence after cautious investigation. That Neptune and the Dioscuri were not known‡ to the Egyptians is very probable; and another remark of Herodotus is equally consistent, that "Isis was the greatest of all the Deities§," and that she enjoyed with Osiris the same honours throughout every part of Egypt;—a privilege not granted to the other Gods.‖ But he has confounded Pan, whom he allows to be one of the eight Gods¶, with Mandoo **, an inferior Deity; and Bubastis (Diana) was not, as he affirms, the daughter of Isis and Osiris.††

These instances of inaccuracy suffice to make us careful in taking so dubious an authority; and we cannot even be certain that Buto held the rank he gives her among the first class of Deities.‡‡

If in every town or district of Egypt the principal temple had been preserved, we might discover the nature of the triad worshipped there, as well as the name of the chief Deity who presided in it, and thus become better acquainted with the character of the

* Herodot. ii. 42.
† Herodot. ii. 46.
‡ Herodot. ii. 43. and 50. *Vide infrà*, Chap. xiii., on Anóuké.
§ Herodot. ii. 40. *Infrà*, p. 378.
‖ Herodot. ii. 42.
¶ Herodot. ii. 145.
** Herodot. ii. 46.
†† Herodot. ii. 156.
‡‡ Id.

GREAT TRIAD OF THEBES
AMUN MAUT & KHONSO.

great Gods, and of most of the persons composing the numerous Egyptian triads. Few, however, can now be ascertained; and in Lower Egypt and the Delta little information is offered by the imperfect remnants of isolated monuments.

At Thebes,

The great triad consisted of Amun or Amun-Re, Maut, and Khonso.

The smaller triad, of Amun-Generator, Tamun, and the young Harka.

At Syene, Elephantine, and the Cataracts,

Neph, Sáté (Juno), and Anóuké (Vesta).

At Philæ,

Osiris, Isis, and Horus or Harpocrates.

At (Edfoo) Apollinopolis Magna,

Hor-Hat, Athor, and Hor-Sened-To.

At (Esneh) Latopolis,

Neph, Nêbou (a form of Neith), and Haké.

At Silsilis,

Re, Pthah, and Nilus; where also are *Typho?*, Thoth, and Netpe; and Amun-Re, Re, and Savak.

At the quarries of the Troici lapidis, near Mahsara,

Thoth, Nehimeou, and Horus (or Aroeris).

At Ombos,

The great triad consisted of Savak, Athor, and Khonso.

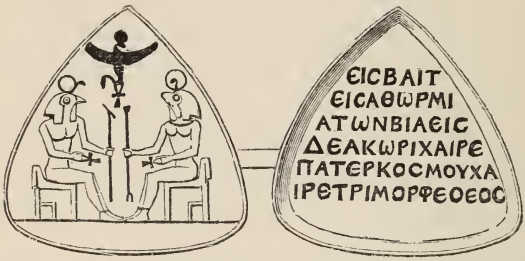
The lesser triad of Horus (or Aroeris), Tson-t-nofre, and the young Pnêb-to.

At Hermonthis,

Mandoo, Reto, and their child Hor-piré.

The funereal triad, composed of Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys, occurs in all the tombs throughout the country; and many others, variously combined, in different towns and provinces of Egypt.

I have also seen a triad represented on a stone *, consisting of Re, Agathodæmon or a winged asp, and a Goddess apparently with a frog's head; in a Greek inscription upon the reverse of which mention is made of Bait, Athor, and Akôri.



No. 445. Stone mentioning a triad, in these words: "One Bait, one Athor (one of the Bia), and one Akori; hail, father of the world! hail, triformous God!"

Bait seems to be the Baieth of Horapollo; but it is not easy to assign the Greek names to each figure on the obverse; and as it is of late time, the authority both of these, and of the Greek names, is of very little weight. The inscription, however, is curious, from the analogy it bears to some of those ascribed to the early Christian Gnostics, and serves to show the idea entertained by the Pagan Egyptians of a "triformous Deity," "the father of the world," who assumed different names according to the triad under which he was represented.

* In the possession of Mr. Hertz, with whose permission I have introduced the accompanying copy of it. The above is the real size.

The great triads were composed of the principal Deities, the first two members being frequently of equal rank, and the third, which proceeded from the first by the second, being subordinate to the others; as in the case of Osiris, Isis, and Horus, or Amun, Maut, and Khonso. Other triads were formed of Deities of an inferior class; and it sometimes happened that, with the unworthy feeling of paying a high compliment to the ruling Monarch, a sort of triad was composed of two Deities and the King, as at Thebes, where Remeses III. is placed between Osiris and Pthah; at Aboukeshayd*, where the Great Remeses occurs between Re and Atmoo; and others in other places. At Silsilis, the King Pthahmen offers to a triad composed of Osiris, Isis, and Remeses the Great, the latter taking the place of Horus, to whom the Egyptian Kings were frequently likened; and to such a point was this prostitution of religion carried in the time of the Ptolemies, that at Hermonthis a triad composed of Julius Cæsar, Cleopatra, and Neocesar, their illegitimate son, took the place of the three Deities, Mandoo, Reto, and Hor-piré†, worshipped in that city.

With regard to the former of these combinations, in which a King is represented as proceeding from two Deities, and forming the third person of a triad, some excuse may be offered, upon the plea of their selecting the most important result of the

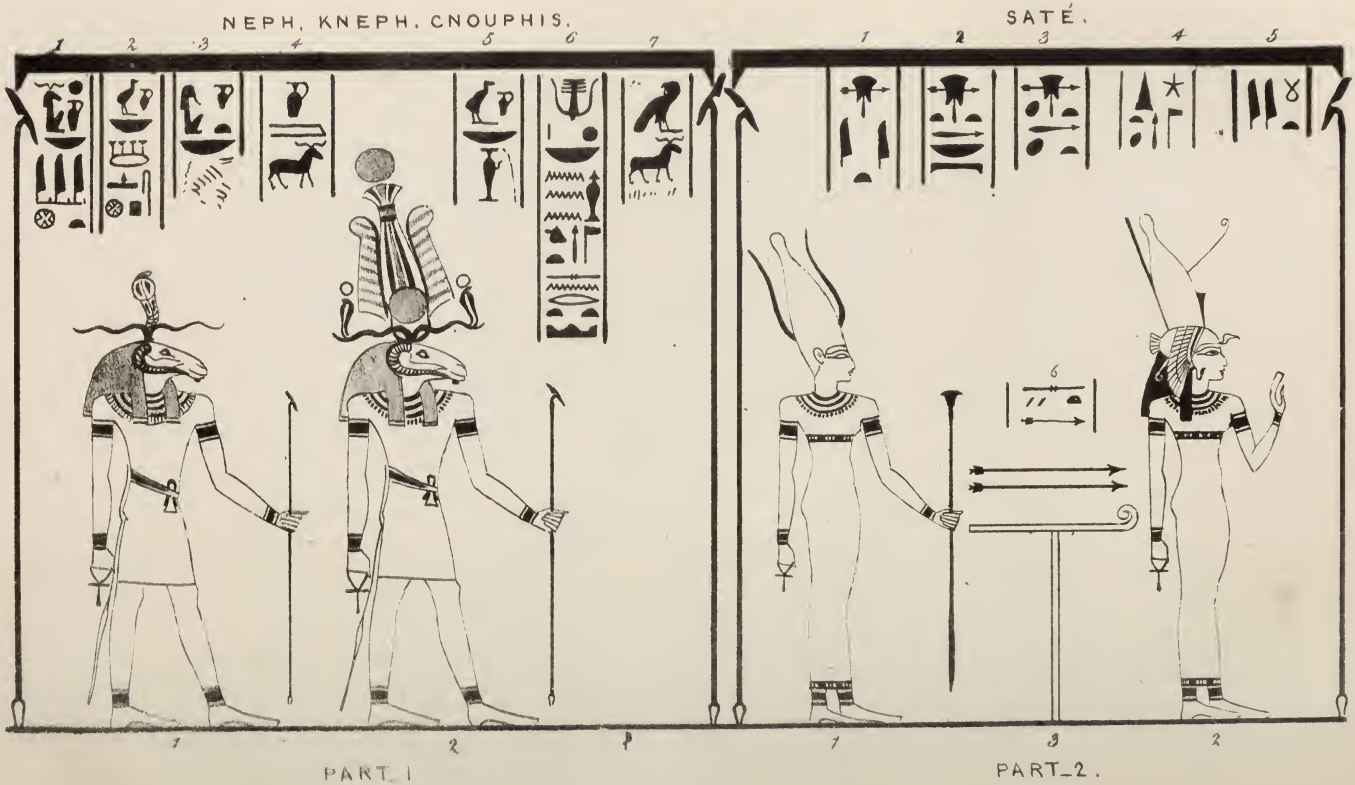
* On the Suez canal. A copy of the stone containing these three figures is given in my Materia Hieroglyphica, Appendix, No. IV.

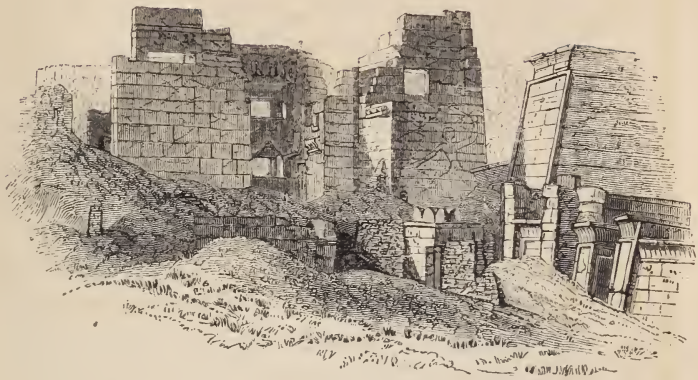
† Champollion, lettres 8. and 12., p. 106. and 206.

power of the Deity, upon this principle : the influence of *intellect* on *matter* * producing the *created being* in the King ; and *this the noblest work* of the Creator being put forth in lieu of the *whole creation*. But the same apology cannot be offered for the latter ; and to the servile flattery of some members of the priesthood, and to the abuses introduced under the Ptolemies, is to be attributed this great profanation of the religious customs of the Egyptians.

* *Vide suprà*, p. 185. ; and *infrà*, p. 248.

Offerings of onions made by a priest to his deceased parents.


NEPH, KNEPH, CNOUPHIS.
SATÉ.
PART_1
PART_2.



VIGNETTE M. Pavilion of Remeses III. at Medeenet Haboo. *Thebes.*

CHAP. XIII.

THE EGYPTIAN PANTHEON.

Form and Attributes of the different Gods.

THE EIGHT GREAT GODS.

NEPH, NEF, KNEPH, CNOUPHIS, CNOUBIS, NOUB, NOU?

IN noticing the character and attributes of the Egyptian Gods, I shall introduce each separately, commencing with the eight great Deities. And as it is useless to stop to inquire which of these held the highest rank, I commence with Neph, who was particularly worshipped in the island of Elephantine, throughout Ethiopia, and in the southern part of the Thebaïd. In the word Neph, or *Nef*, we may probably trace the idea of the *Spirit* of the Deity, if,

in his mention of Jupiter, Diodorus * had in view the God Neph : Jupiter †, he observes, signifying, among the Egyptians, the Spirit, "being the cause of life in animals, and, therefore, the father of all." The same idea may have led to the Greek and Persian notion ‡, of Jupiter being the air which surrounds the world. "If, as I have observed in a previous work §, the sons of Ham taught their descendants, the early inhabitants of Egypt, the true worship of one spiritual and eternal Being, who had disposed the order of the universe, divided the light from the darkness, and ordained the creation of mankind, the Egyptians, in process of time, forsook the pure ideas of a single Deity, by admitting his attributes to a participation of that homage which was due to the Divinity alone;" and thus the sole indivisible God was overlooked and became at length totally unknown, except to those who were admitted to participate in the important secret of his existence.

Kneph, or more properly Neph or Nef ||, was retained as the idea of the 'Spirit ¶ of God, which moved upon the face of the waters.' But having separated the Spirit from the creator of the universe, and purposing to set apart, and deify each attribute which presented itself to their imagination,

* Diodor. i. 12.

† The name, Δίς, Διος, Θεος, and the Latin Deus, are evidently from the same origin ; the Deity *par excellence*.

‡ Herodot. i. 131. Conf. Hor. "Manet sub Jove frigido." I. Od. i. 25.

§ Materia Hierog. Part i. p. 1, 2.

|| Nef, which signified spirit or breath, is still retained in the Arabic of the present day. The Emeph of Iamblichus was probably corrupted from Kneph by the copyists. *Vide* p. 216. 243.

¶ Horapollo says, "the snake is the emblem of the Spirit which pervades the universe."

they found it necessary to form another Deity from the creative power, whom they called Pthah," equal to Neph, being another character of the same original God. "Some difference was observed between the power which created the world, and that which caused and ruled over the generation of man, and continued to promote the continuation of the human species: this attribute of the Divinity was deified under the appellation of Khem; and many more, as his goodness, perfection, and other qualities, which struck them most worthy of their reverence, were made to participate in similar honours.

"Neph was represented with a ram's head*, sometimes surmounted by an asp or a vase; which last, as a hieroglyphic, was the initial of his name. By the Romans he was known under the names of Jupiter-Hammon-Cenubis, and Chnoubis, as at Elephantine; of Amenebis, as in the Oasis; and Jupiter Hammon with the head of a ram, 'unde recurvis . . . cum cornibus Ammon,' the reason of which error it is not necessary here to inquire," but which is not without a parallel, as I have already shown, in the Roman mode of representing Anubis with the head of a dog. "It seems, indeed, that the ram-headed God never had the title of Amun, except when represented with the attributes of Neph," a case of very rare occurrence; "nor can I trace that distinction between the figure before us and one of similar form, which the learned Champollion has considered a different Deity, presiding over the inundation; since the

* Materia Hierog. Pantheon, p. 2.

God of Elephantine has the same office as that ascribed to the one he distinguishes by the name of Cnouphis." This is further confirmed by my having "found an inscription in that island beginning Χνουβι Θεωι," where a temple dedicated to him stood till lately amidst the ruins of the ancient town, the same mentioned by Strabo as that of Cnuphis. It is, indeed, as consistent to suppose the Deity of the inundation to be one of the characters of the God Neph, as "the president of the Western Mountain" to be one of the characters of the Goddess Athor.

Herodotus*, Diodorus, and other writers, in speaking of the Jupiter of Ethiopia, evidently had in view the God Neph; and there is less difficulty in accounting for the notion of his being the same as Jupiter, since he was, if not the King, at least the leader, of the Gods. He corresponded to no other Deity of the Greek Pantheon; and the triad of the cataracts, by uniting him with Sáté or Juno, appears to give him a claim to the name of Jove. There is not, however, she same excuse for confounding Neph with Amun, or giving to the latter Deity the head of a ram.

"The inhabitants of the Thebaïs, says Plutarch†, worship their God Kneph only, whom they look upon as without beginning so without end, and are exempt from the tax levied for the maintenance of the sacred animals." But this could only be true if he alludes to the earliest inhabitants of that district; for the worship of Amun, or Amun-Re, was

* Herodotus says the only two Gods worshipped at Meroe were Jupiter and Bacchus; meaning Neph and Osiris. *Vide* p. 249. 267.

† Plut. de Is. et Osir. s. 21.

much more general throughout the Thebaïd, except at the island of Elephantine, and Syene. Eusebius seems to confound him with Agathodæmon, but this name applies rather to another Deity, the hawk-headed Hor-Hat, whose emblem was the winged globe, placed over the doors and windows of the Egyptian temples, and overshadowing the sacred person of the Monarch; or to the asp, frequently represented in the tombs of Thebes, guarding the wine-presses and gardens of the Egyptians, which was dedicated to another Divinity, the Goddess Ranno*, who is sometimes figured with the head of that snake.

The asp was also sacred to Neph; and that Deity is frequently represented in the tombs standing in a boat, with the serpent over him; and he is not unfrequently seen with this emblem on his head, without any other ornament. At the cataracts I have found him with the asp rising from between his horns, and bearing the crown of the Lower Country on its head, as if intended to indicate the dominion of the Deity there as well as in the Thebaïd. This serpent was the type of Dominion; for which reason it was affixed to the head-dress of the Egyptian Monarchs; and a prince, on his accession to the throne, was entitled to wear this distinctive badge of royalty, which, before the death of his father, he was not authorised to adopt. Many other parts of the royal dress were ornamented with

* M. Champollion was perfectly correct in considering the Asp of Neph different from this guardian genius. I had supposed this last to belong also to Neph.

the same emblem; and "the asp-formed crowns," mentioned in the Rosetta stone, were exclusively appropriated to the Kings or Queens of Egypt.

The Asp also signified, in hieroglyphics, a "*Goddess;*" and when opposed to the Vulture, "*the Lower Country**;" and it was given to Re, the physical Sun, probably as an emblem of that dominion which he held over the Universe, and from his character of prototype of the Pharaohs.

M. Champollion has satisfactorily accounted for the name Uræus given to the snake, by suggesting that the word derives its origin and signification from *ouro*, in Coptic "a King," answering, as Horapollo tells us †, to the Greek βασιλισκος, "royal;" and it is from this last word that the name basilisk has been applied to the asp. But I do not know on what authority that ingenious savant supposes the royal Asp to be different from the Asp "of Cnouphis."‡

The description given by Porphyry § of "Kneph with a human head, azure black colour, bearing a feather on his head," agrees exactly with the God Ao, but not with Neph; and these two Deities can in no way be related,— the latter being one of the great Gods, and the former always having the title "Son of the Sun," and being of an inferior order of Divinities. Nor does any representation occur of "the egg proceeding from his mouth, which Porphyry conjectures to signify the world; and from which proceeded another God called Phta, the

* *Vide infrà*, on the God Ombte, and the Genius of Lower Egypt.

† Horapollo, Hierog. i. 1. "The Egyptians call it Ouraius, which, in the Greek language, signifies βασιλισκος."

‡ Champollion, Pantheon, Nef. § *Vide suprà*, p. 214.

Vulcan of the Greeks;" and, indeed, this cannot be applied to any Deity of the Egyptian Pantheon.

The figure of Neph was that of a man with the head of a ram, frequently of a green colour; sheep were particularly sacred to him; and with Saté (Juno), and Anouké (Vesta), he formed one of the great triads of Upper Egypt.

His worship, as I have already observed, was very generally admitted in the cities of Ethiopia, particularly above the second cataract, where the ram's head, his emblem, was used as a common ornament, or as an amulet by the devout; and in that part of the country lying between the first cataract and the modern Shendy, the ram-headed Neph, or Cnouphis, was the principal God. One Deity alone shares with him equal honours, but this is in the two temples of Wady Owáteb and Wady Benát alone*, where the lion-headed God appears to be the principal object of worship. At Napata, the capital of Tirhaka (now Gebel Berkel) Neph received the highest possible honours; and it may not be unreasonable to conclude that Napata, Nouba†, and the Nobatæ were called from this Deity, whose name has the varied sound of Kneph, Neph, Cnouphis, Chnoubis, Noub, and apparently even of Nou, in some of the hieroglyphic legends of the Thebaïd.

Herodotus states, that in consequence of sheep being sacred to the Theban Jupiter‡, the people of that nome never sacrifice them, but always select

* *Vide infrà*, Chap. xiv., on the Lion.

† Some have derived this from Noub, "gold."

‡ Herodot. ii. 42. More properly to Neph, who was represented with the head of a ram, and not Amun, as he supposes.

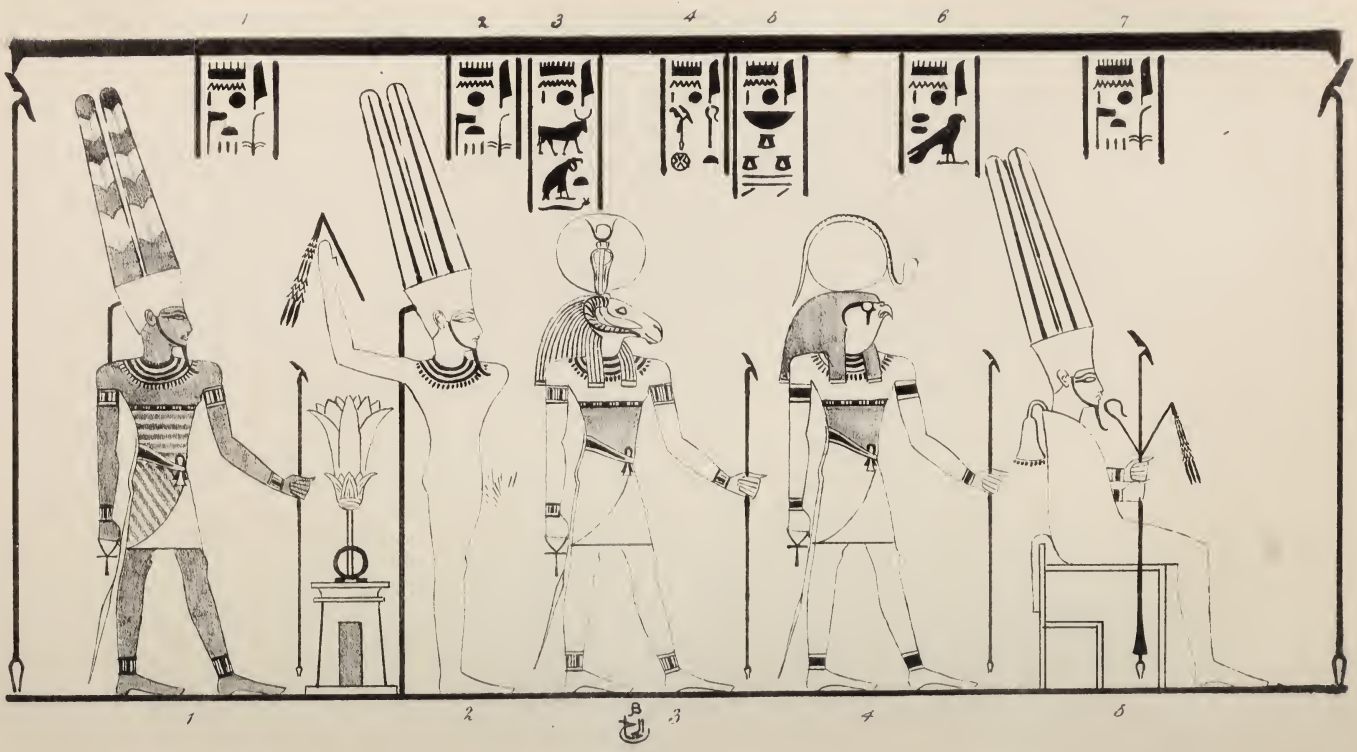
goats for their altars; and this is confirmed by the sculptures of Thebes, by which we find that sheep were never immolated for the altars of the Gods, nor slaughtered for the table. The large flocks of sheep in the Thebaïd were kept for their wool alone; and the care bestowed upon them, so that they might have lambs twice a year, and be shorn twice within the same period; the number of persons employed there in making woollen cloths; and the consequence which the sculptures show to have been attached to those animals; testify the importance of the wool trade in Egypt, and serve as an additional proof of the advancement of this people in manufactures.

At Esneh, Latopolis, Neph is represented under the form of a ram, from between whose horns rises the Sacred Asp: and in some of the legends, the name over it is followed by those of Osiris, Re, Ao, and another God with whom Neph is connected on this occasion. He is also figured as a man having two or four rams' heads; but this is of rare occurrence, except on monuments of a late date, or in subjects relating to the dead and the mysteries of a future state. At Esneh instances occur of Neph with the additional title Re, which then connects him with the Sun, and may perhaps be an argument in support of the opinion I have mentioned of the early Sabæan worship of Egypt.

To Neph were given not only the ordinary horns of the sheep, curving* downwards, but also the long

* Owing to the error respecting Amun, they have been the origin of the name of the Ammonite; and thus has this misnomer been perpetuated in stone.

AMUN



projecting horns of that animal, which, from their twisted form, being readily mistaken* for those of the goat, have caused some difficulty respecting two characters in the names of the Cæsars, both being supposed to represent the same animal, and also to stand for the two letters *b* and *s*. It is, however, evident that the latter was the sheep or ram (esiou), which had the alphabetic force of *s* as in Trajanu*s*, and that the former was the goat (baampe), which was chosen to represent the letter *b* or *v*, as in Ti*b*erius, Se*v*erus, and Se*b*astus.

Amun, or Amun-re — Jupiter.

It may appear singular that Amun should be placed second to Neph ; I have, however, noticed them in this order, not from any superiority of the latter, but because he is said to have been the oldest Deity of Upper Egypt; and, since some alteration has been made in the name of the God known to us as Amun, it may even be supposed that in the earliest times, he had not the same character as in the age of the last Kings of the 18th Dynasty. Indeed, if Neph really answered to the Spirit which pervaded and presided over the creation, and was the same whom Iamblichus describes from the books of Hermes†, he may in justice claim a rank above Amun, or any other of the eight great Gods. The alteration to which I allude is a circumstance well worthy of attention ; and, as I

* I had supposed in consequence that he united the emblem of the generative principle with his own.

† *Vide suprà*, p. 216 Where the name Emeph is given, as is supposed, in lieu of Kneph.

have elsewhere observed *, has been remarked by me on many of the oldest monuments of Egypt, where "the hieroglyphics or phonetic name of Amun-re have been continually substituted for others, the combinations of which I could never discover, being most carefully erased, and the name of Amun, or Amun-re, placed in their stead. The figure of the God remains unaltered, as is also the case with that of Khem, when in the character of Amunre-Generator, whose phonetic hieroglyphics, and not figure, have been changed. To make this last observation more intelligible, I must acquaint the reader with a fact not yet mentioned, — that Amun-re, like most of the Gods, frequently took the character of other Deities; as of Khem, Re, and Neph †; and even the attributes of Osiris; but he is then known by the hieroglyphics accompanying his figure, which always read Amunre, and therefore differ from those given the Deities in their own character."

In examining the sculptures of an early period ‡, I have found that, wherever the name of Amun occurs, the substitution has been so systematically made, that nothing short of a general order to that effect sent to every part of Egypt, and executed with the most scrupulous care, can account for it; and from this alteration § being confined to monu-

* Materia Hierog. Pantheon, p. 4. *Vide* also *infrà*, p. 263.

† But still as a member of the triad of which Amun was the chief. I have even found him with a hawk's head, styled "Amunre Re Atmoo, Lord of Thebes."

‡ It may be seen on the Obelisk of S. Giovanni Laterano, at Rome.

§ The *name* Amun existed long before. Witness the Kings of the 17th Dynasty.

ments erected previous to and during the reign of the third Amunoph, we may conclude that it dates after his accession, or about the year 1420 B.C. Another peculiarity is observable in the name of Amun, — that the hieroglyphics which compose it frequently face the wrong way; that is, they turn in a different direction from the rest of the inscription: the reason of which it is not easy to determine.

I have stated that Amun-re and other Gods took the form of different Deities, which, though it appears at first sight to present some difficulty, may readily be accounted for when we consider that each of those whose figure or emblems were adopted, was only an emanation or deified attribute of the same Great Being, to whom they ascribed various characters, according to the several offices he was supposed to perform. The intellect of the Deity might be represented with the emblems of the almighty power, or with the attributes of his goodness, without in any manner changing the real character of the heavenly mind they pourtrayed under that peculiar form; and in like manner, when to Osiris, or the goodness of the Deity, the emblems of Phthah the creative power were assigned, no change was made in the character of the former, since Goodness was as much a part of the original Divinity from whom both were derived, as was the power with which he had created the world. And if, as sometimes happens, Amun-re is represented making offerings to Osiris, it will be recollected that one

attribute might be permitted to show respect to another, without derogating from its own dignity, and that Osiris in his character of Judge of Amenti, and as the object of the most sacred and undivulged mysteries, held a rank above all the Gods of Egypt.

Amun, or Amun-re, formed with Maut and Khonso the great triad of Thebes. The figure of Amun was that of a man, with a head-dress surmounted by two long feathers*; the colour of his body was light blue, like the Indian Vishnoo, as if to indicate his peculiarly exalted and heavenly nature; but he was not figured with the head or under the form of a ram, as the Greeks and Romans supposed, and the *contortis cornibus Ammon* is as inapplicable to the Egyptian Jupiter, as the description of the *dog-headed* Anubis to the Mercurius Psychopompos of the region of Amenti.

He was considered by the Greeks the same as Jupiter, in consequence of his having the title "King of the Gods;" and under the name Amunre he was the intellectual Sun, distinct from Re, the physical orb. This union of Amun and Re cannot fail to call to mind the Jupiter Belus of the Assyrians, Baal or Belus† being the Sun: and if it be true that Amunti, or Amenti, signified the "giver and receiver," the name Amun-re may be opposed to Atin-re, and signify the Sun in the two capacities

* Q. Curtius, speaking of the Deity of the Oasis of Ammon, says, "Id quod pro Deo colitur, non eandem effigiem habet, quam vulgo Diis artifices accommodaverunt, Umbriculo maxime similis est habitus, smaragdis et gemmis coagmentatus."

† "The Lord" *par excellence.*

of the "receiver and giver." As in most religions the supreme Deity was represented in the noblest form that could be suggested, that of a human being, and Amun was therefore figured as a man, whom Holy Writ states to have been made after the image of his Creator.

At Thebes, "the King of the Gods" may be considered under two distinct characters, as Amun-re, and as Amunre-Generator; in this last assuming the form and attributes of Khem, the God of Generation. It is probable that he was then the same whom the Greeks styled the "Pan of Thebes*;" the chief of a second Theban triad, the other members of which were Tamun and Harka; the former a character of Neith, and perhaps a sort of female Amun; the latter the offspring of the two first, as Khonso was of Amun-re and Maut. According to Manetho, the word Amun† means "concealment;" and Hecatæus observes ‡, that, so far from being the proper name of the God, it was a word in common use, signifying "come §," by which his benignant influence and presence were invoked; and Iamblichus says, it implies "that which brings to light ‖, or manifestation." If the observation of Manetho or of Hecatæus be true, it is not improbable that the name of this God was merely a mysterious title. The word Amoni signifying to envelope, or conceal,

* Προς σε Παν Θηβων, in an inscription at the Breccia quarries, on the Kossayr road, with the figure of Khem. *Vide infrà*, p. 263.

† Not related to ammoun, "sand."

‡ Plut. de Is. s. 9.

§ The word "come," or "come ye," is *αμωινι* in Coptic.

‖ *Vide suprà*, p. 217.

(which seems to be applied in hieroglyphics to a man enveloped in a cloak,) confirms the statement of Manetho; as Amôini, "come," accords with that of Hecatæus; and the change in the hieroglyphic legends of the God, and the introduction of the word Amun throughout the sculptures, may be explained by supposing it a title, rather than the actual name of the Deity.*

We are told by Herodotus†, that the horned snake was sacred to this Deity, and buried in his temple at Thebes; but the father of history was wrong in supposing the *vipera cerastes* to be harmless‡; and it was fortunate he did not prove by experience the fatal effects of its deadly bite. It is not unusual to find these snakes embalmed in the tombs of Koorna, the modern name of the Necropolis of Thebes, and its vicinity.

Of Amun, Maut, and Khonso, consisted the great Triad of Thebes; and though it is difficult to ascertain the exact character and relative offices of these three Deities, we may suppose them to be "demiurge intellect," mother, and created things.

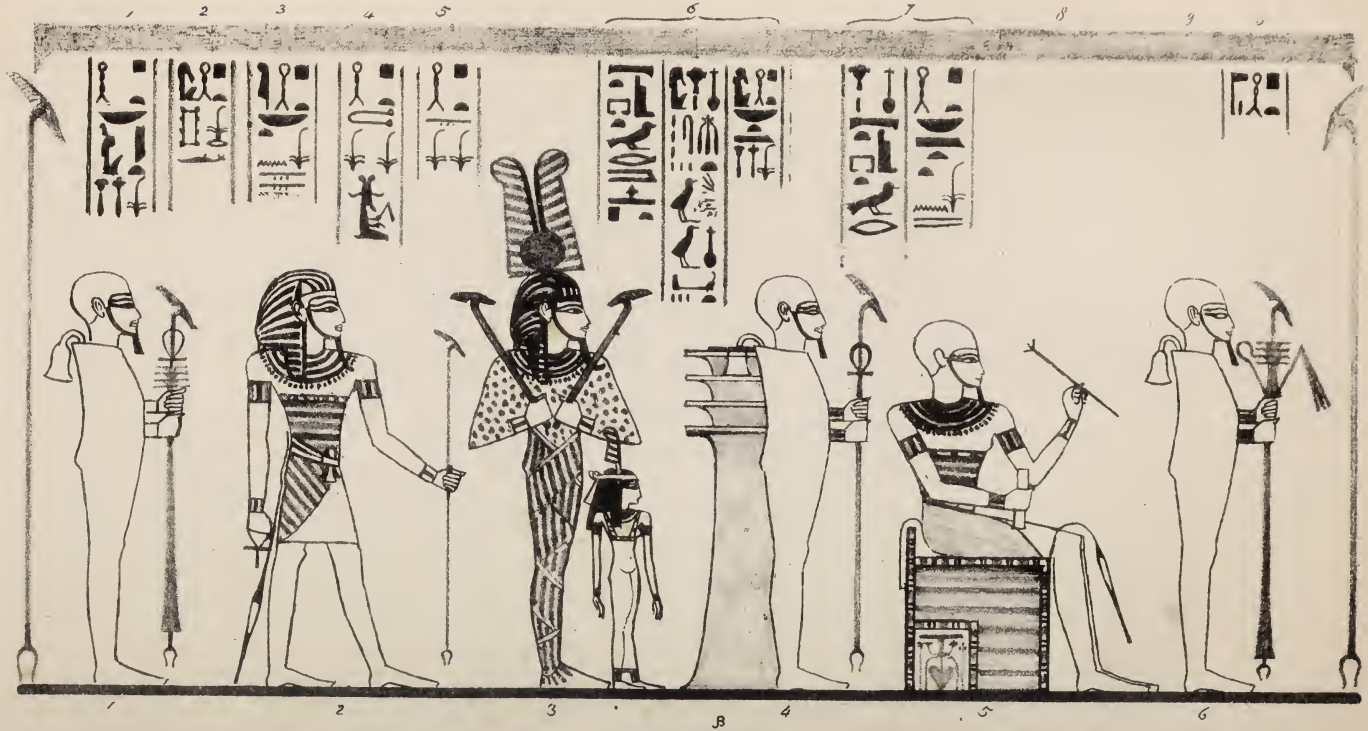
The oracle of Jupiter at Thebes was celebrated, and according to Herodotus §, the divine gift was imparted to a priestess as she slept in the temple, where the Deity was also believed to pass the night. He supposes it to have been the origin of the oracle of Dodona ‖; though his story of "the women consecrated to the service of that Deity

* *Vide infrà*, p. 264. † Herodot. ii. 74.

‡ Diodorus is correct in placing it among poisonous reptiles, lib. i. s. 87.

§ Herodot. ii. 54. 58. ‖ Herodot. i. 182.

PTHAH.



having been carried off *from Thebes* by the Phœnicians," is too absurd to be pardoned, even on his usual excuse of having received it from the Egyptian priests. His statement, that the "Libyan oracle of Ammon" was derived from the Thebaïd, is highly probable; though he makes the common and unaccountable error of supposing the God of Thebes to have had the head of a ram *, which has led to much confusion respecting the Deity worshipped at Meroe. For to this place a procession, carrying the statue of the Theban Jupiter, with a ram's head, is said annually to have gone from Thebes; though the Jupiter of Thebes was Amun, and the great Deity of Ethiopia the ram-headed Neph.†

In the legends of Thebes, Amun has generally the title "King of the Gods," accompanying his name, and these two are sometimes inserted in an oval, or royal Cartouche, as are the names of Osiris, Isis, and Athor.

Phthah or Pthah, Hephæstus, Vulcanus.

Pthah, or in the Memphitic dialect Phthah, was the demiurge, or creative power of the Deity; the "artisan," as Iamblichus styles him, "and leader of mundane artisans, or the heavenly Gods." The same author gives a singular confirmation of the fact, as I have elsewhere observed‡, of the Goddess, who bears on her head a single ostrich

* Herodot. ii. 42. &c.
† *Vide suprà*, p. 148.; and *infrà*, beginning of Chap. xv.
‡ Materia Hierog. Pantheon, p. 7.

feather, being Justice or Truth; which I shall have occasion more fully to notice, in speaking of that Divinity. In the sculptures of Thebes, we find Pthah not only accompanied by her, but bearing the title "Lord of *Truth*," in his hieroglyphic legend; and Iamblichus who calls "the artisan Intellect* the Lord of Truth," observes, "that whereas he makes all things in a perfect manner, not deceptively, but artificially, *together with Truth*, he is called Pthah," though the Greeks denominate him Hephæstus, considering him merely as a physical or artificial agent.

"Pthah is then the Lord of Truth, which was itself deified under the form of the above-mentioned Goddess; and the connection between the creative power and truth is a singular coincidence in the Egyptian and Christian systems. He was said to be sprung from an egg, produced from the mouth of Neph, who was therefore considered his father." At least, this is the account given by Porphyry†, though the monuments of Egypt do not tend to confirm it, nor does his description of the form of that God agree with the ram-headed Neph of the Egyptians. "The Scarabæus, or beetle, was particularly sacred to him, and signified the world, or all creation‡; and in consequence of there being, as Plutarch§ says, 'no females of this species, but all males, they were considered fit types of the creative power, self-acting and self-

* *Vide suprà*, p. 189. and 217.
† *Vide suprà*, p. 214. and 240.
‡ Conf. Horapollo, i. 12.
§ Plut. de Is. s. 10.

sufficient.' The beetle was also an emblem of the Sun, being chosen, according to Horapollo*, 'from its having thirty fingers, equal to the number of days in an (ordinary solar) month;' and the frog was another symbol of Pthah, because, as Horapollo says, 'it was the representative of man in embryo,' that is, of the being, who, like the world, was the work of the creative power, and the noblest production of his hands."

"There are other characters† of Pthah, as Pthah-Sokari-Osiris, and Pthah Toré; but since they are represented by the Egyptians as different and separate Divinities, I have thought it better to keep them apart from the God of whom they were, perhaps, originally emanations," and treat of them as distinct Deities. It is also possible, that to Pthah, the creative power, were ascribed four or more different offices, each being a separate form of that Deity, as, 1. The creator of the universe generally; 2. The creator of the world we inhabit; 3. The creator of all animal and vegetable life; and, 4. The creator of mankind.

The Greeks, as I have already stated, considered the Pthah of Egypt the same as their Vulcan or Hephæstus, and it is more than probable that their idea of this Deity was derived from the Demiurge in the Egyptian Pantheon; the error they made in the character of the opifex, or framer of the world, proceeding from their degrading him to the

* Horapollo, Hierog. i. 10.; and Porphyry says, "Cantharum Soli accommodatum."

† The passages between inverted commas are extracted from my Materia Hieroglyphica.

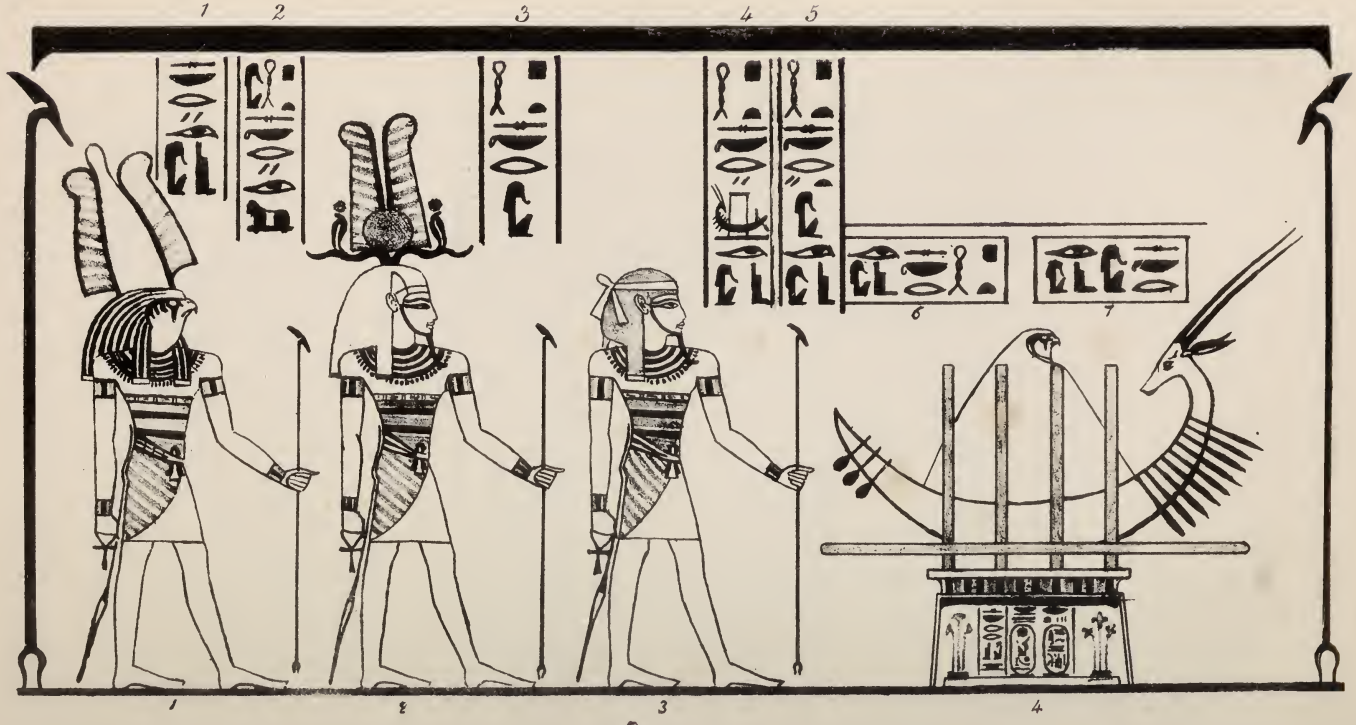
level of a mere physical agent, as Iamblichus has very properly remarked. According to Cicero, there were several Deities who bore the name of Vulcan, and one was reputed to be the son of the Nile, from which we may infer his Egyptian origin. The Greek name, according to Phurnutus, is supposed to have been taken απο του ηφθαι, (signifying to "burn;") and other etymologies have been offered by various writers; but the word Hephæstus, and still more the derivation suggested by Phurnutus, sufficiently indicate the real root of the name in the Egyptian *Pthah*.

The form of this Deity is generally a mummy, not holding in his hands the flagellum and crook of Osiris, but merely the emblems of life and stability, with the staff of purity; which last is common to all the Gods, and to many of the Goddesses, of Egypt. The absence of the flagellum and crook serves to distinguish him from another Deity*, Khonso, the third member of the Theban triad, even when his hieroglyphical name is wanting; and this last has, in addition, a disk and crescent, or short horns, on his head, which are not given either to Pthah or Osiris.

The ordinary head-dress of Pthah, when in the form of a mummy, is a close cap without any ornament; but he occasionally wears a disk with the lofty ostrich feathers of Osiris, and holds in each hand a staff of purity, in lieu of the emblems of stability and life. The sculptures of the tombs also represent Pthah bearing on his head, or clad in, the

* I have found one instance of Pthah with the flagellum and crook.

PTHAH-SOKARI-OSIRIS.



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symbol of stability, which is occasionally given to Osiris; showing how closely he is sometimes allied to the character of that Deity. Pthah even appears under the entire form of this emblem, which is surmounted by a winged scarab supporting a globe, or Sun, and is itself supported by the arms of a man kneeling on the heavens. I have also met with an instance of the God* occupied in drawing with a pen the figure of Harpocrates, the emblem of youth; probably an allusion to the *idea* first formed in the mind of the creator of the *being* he was about to make.†

No. 446. Pthah under the form of Stability.

With regard to the adjunct Toses, which is sometimes applied to his name, I am inclined to believe it indicates an attribute of the creative power, rather than a different character of Pthah: I have therefore preferred placing Pthah-Toses as one of the forms of the same Deity. And, indeed, the commencement of the word seems to relate to his office as creator of the "world," which, in the Egyptian language, was called "*To*."

Pthah-Sokari-Osiris.

Pthah-Sokari-Osiris was that form of Pthah, or Vulcan, particularly worshipped at Memphis.

* *Vide* Plate 23. fig. 5. Pthah is alone introduced in the plate. It is from Dendera.

† If so they believed the first man to have commenced his career in early youth, not as a full grown man; like Jupiter, Hercules, and other of the Gods of Greece.

Herodotus* describes him as a pigmy figure, resembling the Pataikos, placed by the Phœnicians at the prows of their vessels; and says that Cambyses, on entering the temple at Memphis, ridiculed the contemptible appearance of the Egyptian Hephæstus. Representations of this dwarf Deity are frequently met with at Memphis and the vicinity; and it appears that dwarfs and deformed persons were held in consideration in this part of Egypt, out of respect to the Deity of the place. He usually has a Scarabæus, his emblem, on his head; he sometimes holds the crook and flagellum of Osiris; and he frequently appears with a hawk's head, both when worshipped in the temples, and when placed on the sarcophagi of the dead. I have even seen the lids of coffins at Memphis formed in the shape of this God†; the necklace, whose two extremities are surmounted by a hawk's head, peculiarly belonged to Pthah-Sokari; and it is not impossible, that his name Sokar‡ may be derived from the hawk. But this is merely a conjecture. Besides the Scarabæus and hawk, the Capricorn also belonged to him, and the prow of his boat or ark was ornamented with the head of that animal.

The ceremony of bearing this boat in solemn procession was one of the most important of all the rites practised by the Egyptians; and the

* Herodot. iii. 37.

† *Vide* Chap. xvi.; and Pl. 24. *a*. figs. 2. and 5.; and Pl. 43. figs. 1. and 2.

‡ The Egyptian God Σοχαρις, mentioned in a verse of Cratinus, is, as M. Champollion supposes, the same Deity. *Vide* Hesych. voc. Paamyles.

PTHAH SOKARI (2&5.) _ MARS (3&4.) _ HERCULES (1)

sanctity with which it was regarded by the whole country is sufficiently indicated by the conspicuous place it held in the temples of Thebes. Indeed, I believe that it was nothing less than the hearse of Osiris, and that this procession recorded the funeral of that mysterious Deity; a conjecture strongly confirmed by the frequent occurrence of the hawk-headed figure and name (Sokari-Osiris) in those sculptures at Philæ, which represent his apotheosis, or rather his return from this world to that state, whence he had come to manifest himself for the benefit of mankind. It is, perhaps, to this funeral ceremony that Athenagoras alludes, when he says, "They not only show the sepulchre of Osiris, but even his embalmed body." The Deity under the form of Sokari is also carried forth by the four Genii of Amenti, in the same chamber at Philæ; where he appears to have passed through this intermediate state, previous to his assuming his final office of judge of the dead; and his body being placed on a bier, within the same boat or ark, seems to leave no doubt respecting the truth of my conjecture.*

The deformed figure of this God probably gave rise to the fable of the lameness of Vulcan in the Greek mythology, who is represented to have been thrown from heaven by Jupiter, and to have broken his leg in falling upon the Isle of Lemnos.

Pthah-Sokari-Osiris is sometimes seated, attended by Isis, "the potent mother Goddess," who protects him with her wings; he is then more

* *Vide* Plates of R. S. of Literature, Pl. 68. and 69.

closely connected with Osiris than Pthah, of which two Deities he unites the characters. He is frequently styled Sokari-Osiris, *without* the prefix Pthah; and it appears that he is then more particularly connected with the passage of Osiris from this life to another state, and his mysterious return from his human to his divine nature.

Toré, or Pthah Toré.

Toré is another form of Pthah, to whom in this character also the Scarabæus was particularly sacred. It stands for the first letter or syllable of his name*, and may be emblematic of his office as creator of the world, of which this insect was the type. He was sometimes represented with the Scarabæus, in lieu of a head, either with closed or outspread wings; but his usual form was a human figure with the head of a man, wearing the globe of the Sun, and an asp, the emblem of kingly, or divine Majesty.

Batrachocephalus.

The frog-headed Deity is also a form of Pthah, particularly in reference to his creation of man. Horapollo tells us that "man in embryo was represented by a frog," and it was therefore considered a fit symbol to form the base of the palm branch of years, held by Thoth, as the Deity who superintended the life of man. The arms in the

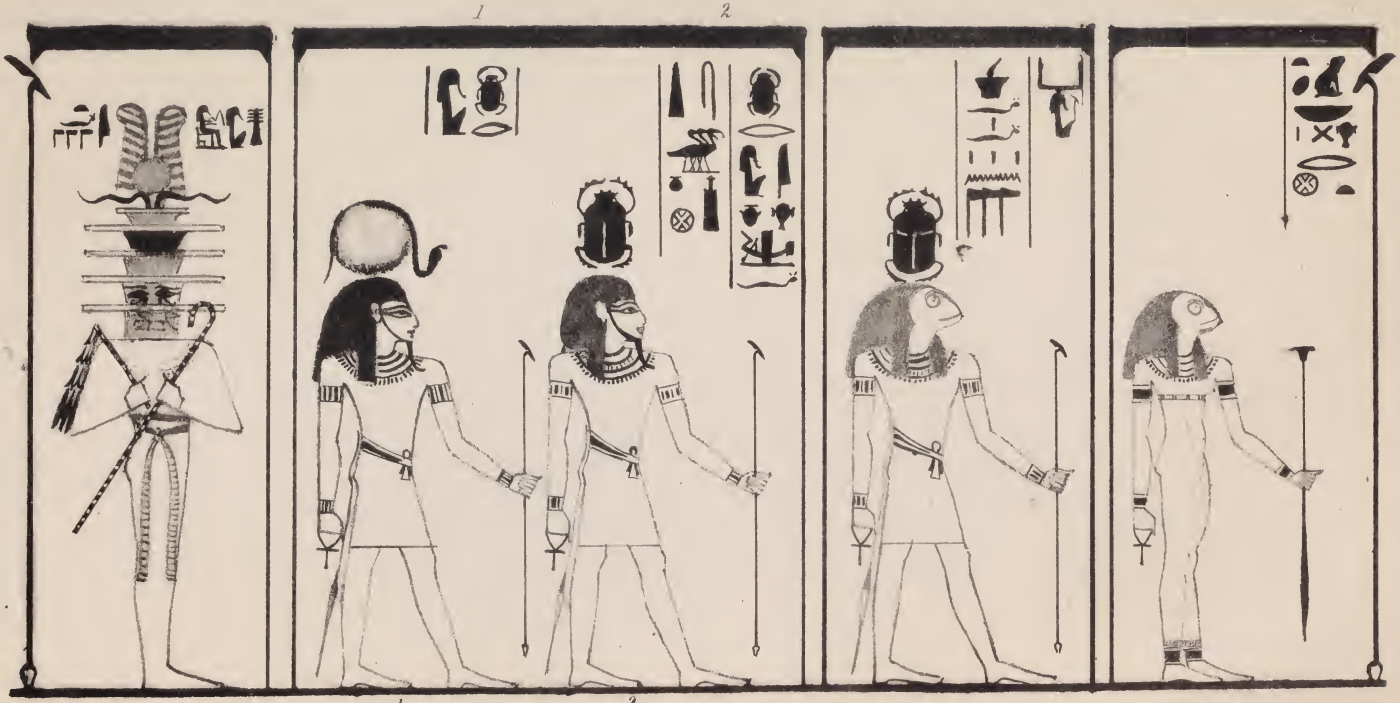
* *Vide suprà*, p. 253.

☥ FORM OF PTHAH

TORÉ

FROG HEADED GOD.

FROG HEADED GODDESS.



PART_1.

PART_2.

PART_3

PART_4.

hieroglyphic legend of the God Batrachocephalus, also connect him with this notion ; they recal the figure illustrative of human life which so frequently occurs * on the monuments, and a man with arms on his head is sometimes given as an emblem of Pthah.

Batrachocephalé.

Of the peculiar office of this Goddess, I am ignorant. She has a frog's head, without the scarab of the former Deity ; and it is probable that she is only an Emanation of Pthah, or in a subordinate capacity among the Genii, or lower order of Gods.

Khem, Chemmo, Pan.

Khem †, the generative principle, particularly worshipped at Chemmis or Panopolis, and, according to the evidence of Diodorus ‡ and the sculptures, "treated with marked reverence by all the Egyptians," was another of the deified attributes of the almighty founder of the Universe, and, as Herodotus justly observes, one of the eight great Gods. His office was not confined to the procreation and continuation of the human species, but extended even to the vegetable world, over which he presided; whence we find his statue accompanied by trees and plants, and Kings offering to him the herbs of the

* The same as on the cover of this book.
† Pronounced Kham. ‡ Diodor. i. 18.

ground, cutting the corn before him, or employed in his presence tilling the land, and preparing it to receive the generating influence of the Deity. It was from this circumstance, that the Greeks and Romans assigned to Priapus the office of presiding over their gardens*; and the idea of his frightening away thieves with his right hand†, was probably derived from the flagellum placed over the uplifted arm of the Egyptian Khem.

It is also possible that the Hermes figures, placed on the public roads, were borrowed from one of the mummy-formed Gods of Egypt. All statues in Greece, before the time of Dædalus, were similarly rude imitations of the human figure, the legs being united, and the arms attached to the body; but we may reasonably suppose that some other reason beyond the mere retention of ancient custom induced them to give to these statues alone so remarkable a form; and it is evident that the Hermes figures bear a stronger resemblance to the Egyptian mummy than to a statue of the ancient Greek style. From

* Hor. Epod. ii. 17.

"Vel, quum decorum mitibus pomis caput
Autumnus arvis extulit,
Ut gaudet insitiva decerpens pyra,
Certantem et uvam purpuræ,
Quâ muneretur te, Priape, et te, pater
Silvane, tutor finium."

A figure of Priapus, engraved by Boissart, has this inscription, "Hortorum custodi, vigili, conservatori propaginis villicorum." Banier, Myth. iv. p. 453.

† Conf. Hor. Sat. I. viii. 3.

"Deus inde ego, furium aviumque
Maxima formido; nam fures dextra coercet,
Ast importunas volucres in vertice arundo
Terret fixa, vetatque novis considere in hortis."

KHEM.

their name, it might be inferred that they were peculiar to the God Mercury; but this depended on the head they bore; those with the face of Apollo being styled Hermapollos; of Minerva, Hermathenas; and others, according to their respective combinations. The Hermes figure was therefore the exclusive name given to statues of a peculiar form, and not to those of Mercury alone. For, besides the fact of the latter being represented in a perfect form like the other Gods, we find from Cicero, that these Hermes statues were forbidden to be erected upon a tomb, which would seem to be the most appropriate situation for a figure of Mercury, the Deity to whom the care of the dead was particularly confided.

In one of several groups of hieroglyphics signifying "Egypt," a tree is introduced as the symbol of that country; but whether any peculiar tree was sacred to the God Khem, or its name resembled the word "Chemi" (Egypt), I will not pretend to decide; trees of the same form, as that occurring in the name of Egypt*, accompany the shrine of the God†, and they may be emblems both of the country, and of the Deity whose name it bore. For Egypt was denominated "Chemi (Khemi), or the land of Ham," as we find in the hieroglyphic legends; and the city of Khem, or Panopolis, was called in Egyptian Chemmo, of which evident traces are preserved in that of the modern town

* See the Rosetta stone. *Vide* Vol. II. p. 186.; also, Chap. xiii., Name of the Goddess Χημι, or Egypt, and the Woodcut.

† *Vide* Plate 26. behind the figure of the God.

E'Khmim.* Indeed, the name of the God appears from the hieroglyphics to have been Chemmo or Khemo†, and when in the character of Amunre-Generator, the title of Khemo is added to that of Amun.

Plutarch says‡ that "the leaf of the fig tree represented both their King Osiris, as well as their native country;" and it is possible that this notion was founded upon the circumstance of the fig tree itself being the symbol of Egypt; but from what he afterwards says of the Priapean character of Osiris, we may conclude he has confounded that Deity with the God Khem. If this be true, the tree above mentioned may be the fig, or more probably the *Ficus sycomorus;* and the conventional form adopted by the Egyptians for this and all trees, excepting the palm, *Dôm*, pomegranate, and a few others, appears to justify this conjecture.

The sycomore was particularly sacred to the Goddess Netpé, as the Persea to Athor; but these I shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

The assertion of Herodotus§, that the Egyptians represented the God Pan, like the Greeks, with the head and legs of a goat, applies neither to the God Khem, nor to any other Deity in the Egyptian

* It is singular, that this town should have had the name given to the whole country of "*Khemi;*" and another, Coptos (Koft or Kebt), have retained that of "*Egypt,*" which is Gypt with a prefixed letter or diphthong.

† May not the name Ωκεαμης, said by Diodorus originally to have been given to the Nile, be taken from the word χαμε, *black?* The river in early times also bore the name of Egypt. *Vide suprà*, Vol. I. p. 8. Diod. i. 19.

‡ Plut. de Is. s. 36.

§ Herodot. ii. 46.

Pantheon*, and is as little worthy of credit as the statement he afterwards makes respecting an occurrence in the Mendesian nome; where he also states that "the Goat and the God Pan both have the name Mendes in the Egyptian language." The description of the God worshipped at Panopolis, given by Stephanus of Byzantium†, accords exactly with the Egyptian Pan, or Khem, which the learned Prichard has supposed to be "Osiris or Horus," and it is Khem, and not Mendes, to whom belong the attributes of the God of Generation.

The Hebrew word Ham is identical with the Egyptian Khem, חם being properly written Khm, Kham, or Khem; and is the same which the Egyptians themselves gave to their country, in the sculptures of the earliest and latest periods. The Bible also applies to Egypt the name of Mizraim (or Mitzrim), a dual or plural word, which, as I have before observed‡, seems to refer to the two regions of Egypt, the Upper and Lower country, over which the Pharaohs are always said in their regal titles to hold dominion. It is, however, remarkable that the word itself does not occur in hieroglyphics, though traced in the modern name Musr or Misr, by which both Cairo and Egypt are known at this day.

According to the scriptural account§ of the peopling of the world by the sons of Noah, it appears

* *Vide infrà*, Mandoo.

† Stephanus says, "Εστι και τον Θεον αγαλμα μεγα, ορθιακον εχον το αιδοιον· επαιρει τε μαστιγας τη δεξια σεληνην, ης ειδωλον φασιν ειναι τον Πανα." Voc. Πανος πολις. *Vide* Prichard, p. 120.

‡ *Vide suprà*, Vol. I. p. 2.

§ Gen. x. 6.

that Ham (Khem) colonised the lands of Cush (Ethiopia), Mizraim Lower Egypt and the Thebaïd, Phut Libya?, and Canaan Syria; the four being mentioned as "sons of Ham;" which may refer to the migration of an Asiatic tribe to those countries, and tend to confirm my opinion respecting the Oriental origin of the inhabitants of the valley of the Nile. Ham or Khem may have been the original name of that tribe which settled in the two districts called Mizraim; and the Egyptians may have retained the appellation which they had as conquerors, in preference to that of the country they occupied.

The progeny of Cush is equally remarkable. Cush * is the name of Ethiopia, both in Scripture, and in the hieroglyphics of the earliest periods; and was applied to that country lying above the second cataracts †, inhabited, as at present, by a copper-coloured race. After the Bible has enumerated the sons of Cush, it mentions an offset in Nimrod, who founded the kingdom of "Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calmeh in the land of Shinar," from which country the Assyrian founders of Nineveh emigrated. ‡ This connection between an African and Asiatic Ethiopian race is the more remarkable, as the same is noticed by profane writers: the *Ethiopian* Mem-

* In Hebrew it signifies "blackness," therefore applied to the "black country," like the word Ethiopia.

† Tirhakah was King of Cush. 2 Kings, xix. 9. The capital of Tirhakah's dominion was at El Berkel, the ancient Napata. Sulpitius Severus calls him Tirchac.

‡ Genes. x. 8. 10.

non was said * to be a general of Teutamis, the twenty-first King of *Assyria* after Semiramis, and to have been sent with a force of 10,000 *Ethiopians*, and the same number of Susans, to assist Priam, when Troy was besieged; and the Cushites of Africa are also called *Ethiopians*.

Besides the hieroglyphic group composed of the tree above alluded to, indicating Egypt, was one consisting of an *eye* and the sign *land* which bore the same signification†; and, since the pupil or *black* of the eye was called *Chemi*, we may conclude this to be a phonetic mode of writing the name of Egypt, which Plutarch ‡ pretends was called Chemmia from the *blackness* § of its soil.

To the God Khem, the Egyptians dedicated their ex-votos in the quarries of the Kossayr road; nor were temples and votive inscriptions put up in honour of Sarapis till the time of the Romans, and in a few instances during the reigns of the Ptolemaic Kings. In the Greek ex-votos he is styled the "Pan of Thebes," but the hieroglyphic inscriptions have not the title Amunre, though it is probable that in this character he was the same as Amunre-Generator. ‖ I should not be surprised to find that the name of Khem was that for which Amunre was substituted; in which case, these would be two characters of Khem, instead of

* Diodor. ii. 22. † *Vide* the name of the Goddess Χημι.
‡ Plut. de Is. s. 33.
§ Chame is "black" in Coptic, Egypt is Chemi; and it is remarkable that Khom or Chom חום is used in Hebrew for "black" or "brown," as in Gen. xxx. 32, 33. 35. and 40.
‖ *Vide suprà*, p. 247.

Amun-re.* Either this may have been the case, or the original legend may have contained a name of the Deity, which in after times was deemed too sacred to be exposed to the eyes of the profane, when the uninitiated had become acquainted with the previously occult meaning of hieroglyphic writing.

Khem was considered the generating influence of the Sun, whence perhaps the reason of his being connected with Amunre: and in one of the hieroglyphic legends accompanying his name he is styled the Sun; that is, the procreating power of the only source of warmth, which assists in the continuation of the various created species. I have twice found hieroglyphic legends stating him to be "engendered by the Sun," and in another he is called the "Son of Isis," which might seem to deny him a place among the eight great Gods; but these may refer to a distinct office he was supposed to bear on some occasions, and his intimate connection with Amun-re fully establishes his claim to the rank Herodotus has given him in the Egyptian Pantheon.† "The Greeks," says the historian, "consider Hercules, Bacchus, and Pan as the most modern of their Gods; the Egyptians, on the contrary, look upon Pan as very ancient, holding a rank among the first eight Deities; Hercules they place in the number of the twelve, called the second order; and Bacchus ranks with those of the third order, who are engendered by the twelve."

It is not improbable, then, that Khem was also

* *Vide suprà*, p. 244. † Herodot. ii. 145.

considered by the Egyptians the generating principle of nature itself; and this will accord with the idea they entertained of his extending his immediate influence over all the animal and vegetable world. On the Kossayr road I have met with a tablet in which the God Khem is represented as a hawk, with human legs, and an arm holding up the usual flagellum, his head crowned with the long feathers of Amun; but this is an unusual form of the Deity, and of uncertain date.

Thriphis was the favourite and contemplar companion of Khem, as well at Panopolis, as in the temple of Athribis or Crocodilopolis, whose ruins are still seen to the westward of Soohag. She appears to be one of the Goddesses represented with a lion's head; but I have been unable exactly to ascertain her attributes and office.

The Greek inscription at Athribis* designates the town by the same name, Thriphis. It is still called by the Arabs Atrib, and by the Copts Athrebi; and the honours with which the Goddess was there worshipped may be inferred from the dimensions of her temple, 200 feet in length and 175 in breadth. Part of the inscription is lost, but may be easily restored; and the name of the Emperor mentioned in it occurs also in the hieroglyphics, which on the other face of the same architrave present the ovals of Tiberius Claudius Cæsar (Germanicus?). In the Greek is the name of the Empress Julia, the

* The Arab tradition, mentioned by the historian Macrizi, of the four sons of Mizraim,— Oshmun, *Atrib*, Sa, and Koft,— is, like many others which abound in Egypt, in order to account for the names of cities.

widow of Agrippa and daughter of Augustus, with the date of the 9th year of Tiberius, which shows that her death could not have happened as early as is generally supposed. The dedication to "the most great *Goddess* Thriphis," and the mention of "Apollonius prefect of the *city* of Thriphis," show them both to have borne the same name; as the ovals of Ptolemy the eldest son of Auletes, which occur in another part of the building, prove that the foundation of the temple dated before the Empire, and that the inscription of Tiberius was only attached to repairs or additions made during his reign. The Greek inscription at Panopolis is of the time of Trajan. It has the date of his 12th year, and mentions Pan and Thriphis as the chief Deities of the place.

The story of Pan having been the lieutenant-general of Osiris, in his Indian expedition, and by the fright he caused to the enemy having given rise to the expression "Panic terrors," is an idle legend, which, too, cannot apply to the Pan of Egypt. It is mentioned by Plutarch and Polyenus.

Sáté, Juno.

The Goddess Sáté, or Juno, always accompanies Neph in the ex-votos at the Cataracts of Syene, and the Island of Sehayl; where she forms the second member of a triad composed of Neph, Sáté, and Anóuké. This triad frequently occurs on different monuments in the vicinity of Syene, it being customary for every town to assign a con-

spicuous post in their temples to the chief Deities, and to the peculiar triad, worshipped by their neighbours, as a mark of respect not only to the Gods, but to the inhabitants of the adjoining districts. And the general adoration paid to the principal member of this triad throughout Nubia, readily accounts for its constant occurrence in the temples between the first and second cataracts. At Dakkeh, the manner in which it is mentioned over one of the doors is remarkable ; the Ethiopian King Ergamun being styled, on one side, "Son of Neph, born of Sáté, nursed by Anóuké," and on the other, "Son of Osiris, born of Isis, nursed by Nephthys."

The Island of Sehayl was formerly called Sété, a name not unlike that of the Egyptian Juno, —and a Greek inscription there mentions the dedication of a temple to the above-mentioned triad. In another, inscribed upon a column at the granite quarries of Caracalla, near Syene, Jupiter-Hammon-Cenubis and Juno are said to preside over the hill near whose summit it was erected ; but these would not have been sufficient to identify the Goddess, had not the sculptures presented the name of an arrow (which, piercing a standard, forms her hieroglyphics) written in phonetic characters, and expressing the word Sáté. Horapollo affirms that Juno (Sáté) presided over the lower part of heaven, and Neith (Athena) over the upper hemisphere ; but it is possible that he may have confounded Neith with Netpe ; though some confirmation of his remark may be derived from the fact of the cap worn by Neith signifying, in hiero-

glyphics, "Upper Egypt," and that of Sáté, the "Lower country."

Horapollo is fully borne out by the hieroglyphics in what he afterwards says,—that "the Egyptians think it absurd to designate the heaven in the masculine τον ουρανον, but represent it in the feminine την ουρανον," "inasmuch as the generation of the Sun and Moon and the rest of the stars is perfected in it, which is the peculiar property of a female."*

The marriage of Jupiter with his sister Juno, in Greek mythology, was probably derived from the story of Osiris and Isis, who were also brother and sister and the children of Seb, considered by the Greeks the same as Saturn; but the confusion caused by their judging of the identity of their own and the Egyptian Deities from casual analogies is so great, that to Jupiter alone are attributed legendary tales taken from Amun, Neph, and Osiris.

The statues of the Greek Juno were not always confined to one particular form; and to that Goddess were sometimes given the attributes of Pallas, of Diana, of Venus, of Nemesis, of the Fates, and other Divinities. In this respect they resembled many of the Deities of Egypt, who, as already observed†, borrowed each other's attributes, and could only then be recognised by the hieroglyphic legend placed above them.

The Goddess Sáté does not appear to have played so important a part in Egyptian mythology

* Horapollo, i. 11.

† *Vide suprà*, p. 244.

as the Juno of Greece. Nor will I pretend to decide if she presided over marriages: and little is known of her from the accounts of ancient writers. Diodorus *, Horapollo, and some other authors merely make a cursory mention of the Egyptian Juno, and little dependance can be placed on what Manetho relates concerning her. According to Porphyry †, the priest of Sebennytus states that three men were daily sacrificed to the Juno of Egypt, after having been examined like the clean calves chosen for the altar; which ceremony was abolished by order of Amosis. And to this Plutarch alludes, when he says, "We are informed by Manetho, that they were formerly wont, in the city of Idithya ‡, to burn men alive, giving them the name of Typhos, and winnowing their ashes through a sieve: which sacrifices were performed in public, and at a stated season of the year,—in the dog-days." If, indeed, this were ever the case, it could only have been at a very remote period, long before the Egyptians were the civilised nation we know them from their monuments; as I shall have occasion to show in treating of the Sacrifices. §

According to Herodotus, the great Goddesses of Egypt were Neith (Minerva), Buto (Latona), Bubastis (Diana), and Isis; the Greeks having become acquainted with their names, from being worshipped in Lower Egypt; and to their igno-

* Diodor. i. 13. 15. † Porphyr. de Abst. ii. 55.

‡ Probably Ilethya or Eilethyia, the city of Lucina, a title given to the Greek Juno. Plut. de Is. s. 73.

§ *Vide infrà*, on Sacrifices, Chap. xiv.

rance of the Deities of the Thebaïd may be attributed their silence respecting Maut, the great Goddess of Thebes, and Sáté, the second member of the triad of Elephantine.

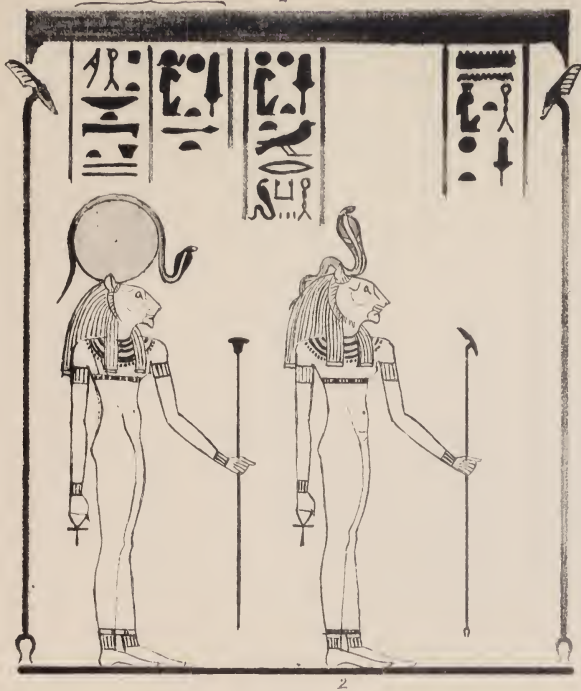
Sáté was represented as a female figure, wearing on her head the cap or crown of the Upper Country, from which projected the horns of a Cow: and in her hand she holds the usual sceptre of the Egyptian Goddesses.

Another Goddess appears also to lay claim to the name of Sáté; but her form and character differ from those of the Egyptian Juno; and she seems rather to represent the Western bank of the Nile.* From her occurring frequently in tombs, it is probable that she had some office in Amenti. Indeed, the evident connection, and the similarity in the name, of *Amenti*, "the lower regions," and *Ement*, "the West," are remarkable; and the idea of the end of the world being in the West, as its commencement in the East, is thus noticed by Plutarch:—The Egyptians make "a sacred dirge or lamentation over Osiris, bewailing him who was born on the right side of the world, and who perished on the left. For it must be observed that the Egyptians look upon the East as the front or face of the world, upon the North as its right side, and upon the South as its left."†

* *Vide* Plate 53. Part 3.; *infrà*, Chap. xiii.

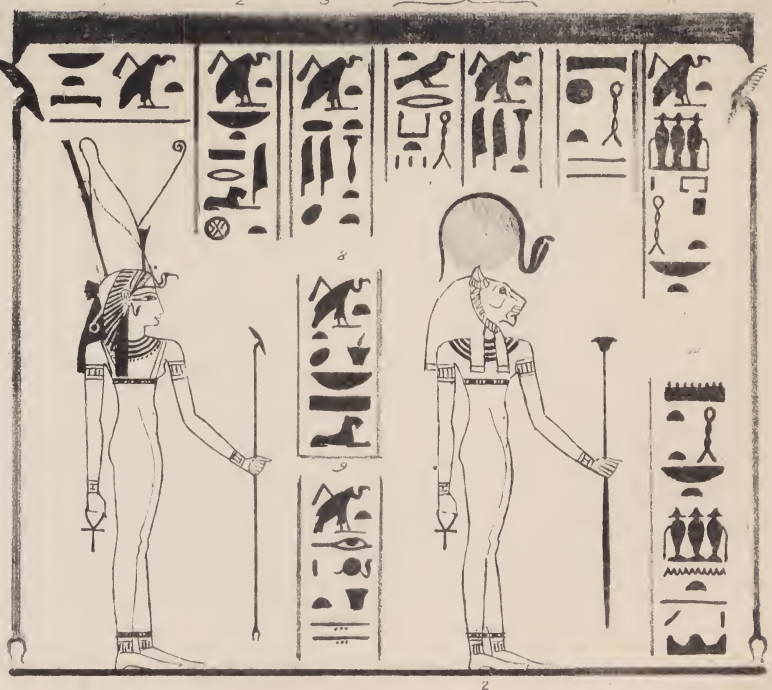
† Plut. de Is. s. 32. The Arabs call the North the left, being on their left as they look towards the East, or towards Mekkeh.

PASHT.



PART_2.

MAUT.



PART_1.

Maut, Mother, Nature?.

This Goddess was the second member of the Theban triad. Her name Maut, or Tmau *, signifies "mother;" and though many Divinities, as Isis, Netpe, and others, have the title "Mother Goddess," the name Maut was peculiarly applied to the one before us, who may with much reason be supposed to represent in this capacity Nature, the mother of all. From the presence of the Vulture in her hieroglyphics, she has been supposed the same as Neith (Minerva); but that bird is merely a phonetic character signifying "mother," and not an emblem of the Goddess herself. For the Vulture, as Horapollo observes †, being the peculiar type of a female, and of maternity, "the Egyptians, whenever they wish to designate a mother, represent this bird."

Some may be disposed to identify her with Buto, the Latona of Egypt, and imagine that the name she bears refers to the office she held in the creation of the world, or to her duties as nurse of Horus. Some indeed have confounded Buto with Minerva, who was said to have been the tutor of Bacchus.‡

The oracle of Buto was one of the most celebrated in the world, and the honours rendered this Goddess by the Egyptians were doubtless very great, since, as Herodotus states, they had greater veneration for her oracle §, than that of

* Or Mau, t being the female sign.
† Horapollo, i. 11.
‡ Diodor. iii. 69.
§ Herodot. ii. 83.

any other Deity. "It is consecrated to her," says the historian *, "in a large city (also called Buto) situated near the Sebennytic mouth of the Nile. You pass it in going from the sea by that branch of the river. It contains several temples; — of Apollo, of Diana, and of Latona. In the last the oracles are delivered. It is of very great size, having porticos 10 orgyes (fathoms) in height. But of all that I observed within the enclosure sacred to Latona, the chapel of the Goddess caused me the greatest surprise. Its sides are of a single stone, square both ways, measuring in length and breadth 40 cubits; and another block, whose thickness is 4 cubits, forms the roof. Nothing, in fact, in the whole of this consecrated spot is more worthy of admiration. Next to this is the Isle of Chemmis, situated in a deep and spacious lake near the temple of Latona at Buto. According to the Egyptians, it is a floating island; but I confess I neither saw it float, nor even move, and I was much surprised to hear that any islands did float. In it is a large chapel of Apollo, with three altars. The soil produces a number of palm and other trees without culture, some of which bear fruit.

"The following reason is given by the Egyptians for its floating. Latona, one of the eight most ancient Divinities, who lived at Buto, where her oracle now is, having been charged by Isis with the care of Apollo, concealed him in this island, which is now called the Floating Island,

* Herodot. ii. 155. *Vide* also, ii. 75. Strabo, xvii. p. 551.

though formerly fixed and stationary. She preserved him there in safety, while Typhon was searching every where for the son of Osiris: for they say that Apollo and Diana are born of Bacchus and Isis, and that Latona was their nurse and preserver. Apollo is called Orus (Horus) in Egyptian; Ceres is Isis; and Diana, Bubastis."

Of the form and attributes of the Egyptian Latona we are completely ignorant. It is far from certain that Maut and Buto are two characters of the same Deity; and unfortunately the sculptures of her temple, mentioned by Herodotus, are no longer in existence to clear up the difficulty. But if Strabo be correct in stating that the mygale or shrew mouse was worshipped at Athribis, it is very probable that the lion-headed Goddess Thriphis *, who gave her name to that city, was the same as the Egyptian Latona. The mygale is universally allowed to have been sacred to Buto †: it was buried in the city of that name: and if the Egyptians really assigned the reason mentioned by Plutarch for the worship of this animal, we may believe that the Goddess Buto represented, as M. Champollion supposes, the darkness which covered the deep. "The mygale," says that writer, "received divine honours by the Egyptians, because it is blind, and darkness is more ancient than light." ‡

This idea of night being older than day was

* Strabo, xvii. p. 559. *Vide suprà*, p. 265.; and *infrà*, Chap xiv., on the Mygale.

† Herodot. ii. 67.

‡ Plut. Sympos. iv. Quæst. 5. *Vide* Gen. i. 2. and 3.

very ancient, and commonly entertained. We find in Genesis, that "the evening and the morning were the first day;" which is retained to the present time by the Arabs, in the expression *layl oo nahr*, "night and day."

"The Egyptians," says Damascius, "celebrated unknown darkness as the one principle of the universe.*" According to Hesiod, from chaos arose Erebus and black night: from night, Æther and day†:" and Aristotle tells us, "the theologians consider all things to be born from night."‡ Aristophanes makes "chaos, night, Erebus, and Tartarus the first;" and in the Orphean Fragments we find, "I will sing of Night, the genitor of Gods and men; Night the genesis of all things." The Anglo-Saxons also, like Eastern nations, began their computations of time from night, and the year from that day corresponding with our Christmas, which they called "Mother Night §;" and "the Otaheitans refer the existence of their principal Deities to a state of darkness, which they consider the origin of all things."

This darkness was not, however, the same as night, or evening, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, when the Sun withdraws its light from the earth, but that primæval night, or darkness, from which all created nature had its commencement. And if Buto represented darkness the

* *Vide* Cory, p. 320.
† Hesiod. Theogon. v. 123. *Vide suprà*, p. 218.
‡ *Vide* Metaph. xii. 6.; and Aristoph. Birds.
§ *Vide* Cory, p. 320.

companion of chaos, or "night the genesis of all things," another Goddess claimed the post of night, who, under the name of Athor, received the Sun into her arms, as he retired behind the Western mountain, of which she was the presiding Deity. Porphyry and others seem to confound the two, and suppose Latona to be the atmosphere, which appears light and dark beneath the Moon; deriving the name of Leto from the *forgetfulness* caused by sleep during the night, over which they suppose her to preside.

This, like many other mysteries, being clothed by the Egyptian priests in the guise of a popular tale, suited to the comprehension of the people, was placed beyond the reach of the uninstructed or the profane; and the sanctity of the mygale was attributed to the protection it afforded to Latona, who, under its form, eluded the pursuit of Typho.

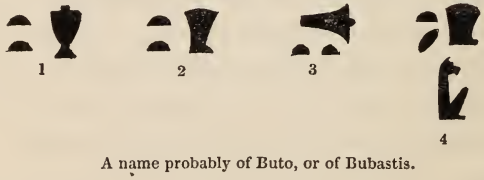
It is this custom of explaining the nature of the Gods in two different ways,—the one intended for the instruction of the initiated, the other to satisfy the *profanum vulgus*, who were excluded from all participation in metaphysical truths, which has been the cause of so much apparent contradiction in the character of the Egyptian Deities; and we may readily conceive the labyrinth into which the human mind was led by similar explanations. But the object of the priests was obtained by these means. For, since they presented no difficulties to the comprehension of a superstitious people, they had the appearance of truth, and effectually pre-

vented their indulging in speculation upon the religion they were taught to obey.

Maut is represented as a female figure wearing on her head the Pshent, or double crown, of the Upper and Lower countries, placed upon a cap ornamented with the head, body, and wings of a vulture. This Pshent is not worn by her as by the Kings, the one crown placed within the other, but side by side,—a mode of arranging it adopted also by Atmoo and some other Deities. Instances also occur of Maut with the head of a lion, or of a cat. She probably, then, has the attributes of Pasht or Bubastis, or of Thriphis above mentioned. But it is frequently difficult to ascertain whether these heads are of a lion or of a cat; even the ears are not always a sufficient guide, though generally the latter are erect and pointed, and the others round.

The black basalt sitting figures in the British Museum, and other European collections, represent the Egyptian Bubastis.

The hieroglyphical name of Buto I have as yet been unable to determine; it may possibly be that given in the accompanying Woodcut, which fre-



No. 447. A name probably of Buto, or of Bubastis.

quently occurs in Lower Egypt over a Goddess with a cat's head, unless, indeed, it be another form of the name Bubastis.

Pasht, Bubastis, Diana.

This Goddess was principally worshipped in the Delta and Lower Egypt. Great honours were also paid her in the Upper Country, and at Thebes her figure holds a conspicuous place among the contemplar Deities. The city of Bubastis, where she was particularly adored, stood E. of the Delta, and at a short distance from the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, where lofty mounds, called Tel Basta, still mark its site. "Here," says Herodotus *, "is a temple of Bubastis deserving of mention. Other temples are larger and more magnificent, but none more beautiful than this. The Goddess Bubastis is the same as the Greek Diana. Her temple stands in an island surrounded on all sides by water, except at the entrance passage. Two separate canals lead from the Nile to the entrance, which, diverging to the right and left, surround the temple. They are about 100 feet broad, and planted with trees. The vestibule is 10 orgyes (fathoms) high, ornamented with very fine figures 6 cubits in height. The temple stands in the centre of the town, and in walking round the place you look down upon it on every side, in consequence of the foundations of the houses having been elevated, and the temple still continuing on its original level. The sacred enclosure is encompassed by a wall, on which a great number of figures are sculptured; and within it is a grove, planted round the cella of the temple, with trees of a considerable

* Herodot. ii. 138.

height. In the cella is the statue of the Goddess. The sacred enclosure is a stadium (600 feet) in length, by the same in breadth. The street which corresponds with the entrance of the temple crosses the public square, goes to the East, and leads to the temple of Mercury; it is about three stades long and four plethra (400 feet) large, paved *, and planted on either side with large trees."

Bubastis is represented with the head of a lioness or a cat, and to her the latter was peculiarly sacred. On her head she bears a disk, from which rises the Uræus, or royal Asp, and in her hand she holds the usual sceptre of the Egyptian Goddesses. From the difficulty above stated of distinguishing between the cat and lion headed figures, doubts sometimes arise respecting the form of the Egyptian Diana: though it appears that she took the head of both those animals. The Goddess of the *Speos Artemidos* † is represented in the hieroglyphics by a lioness ‡; and if it be true that the wolf and jackal were dedicated to one Deity, Anubis, we can with equal reason suppose the lion and cat to have been emblems of the same Goddess.

In the bronze figures of Pasht, more care seems to have been taken to distinguish between the lion and the cat, the head of the latter being evidently given to this Goddess. They sometimes represent her holding a sistrum in her right hand, and in her left the head of a lion surmounted by a disk and asp; sometimes with a basket upon her arm; but

* At Dimmay or Nerba, in the Fyoom, is a paved causeway leading through the town to the temple, though smaller than this of Bubastis.

† *Vide* my Egypt and Thebes, p. 379.

‡ *Vide* Plate 27. Part 2. Hierog. No. 3.

they are frequently of a late date, and the attributes they present are less to be depended upon than the sculptures of the ancient monuments.

One of the principal festivals of the Egyptians was held at Bubastis in honour of Pasht; and Herodotus* considers that they took a greater interest in it than in any of the numerous fêtes annually celebrated in Egypt. "This," says the historian, "is the nature of the ceremony on the way to Bubastis. They go by water, and numerous boats are crowded with persons of both sexes. During the voyage, several women strike the *crotala* †, while some menplay the flute; the rest, both men and women, singing and clapping their hands. As they pass near a town, they bring the boat close to the bank. Some of the women continue to sing and play the *crotala;* others cry out as long as they can, and utter reproaches against the people of the town, who begin to dance, while the former pull up their clothes before them in a scoffing manner. The same is repeated at every town they pass upon the river. Arrived at Bubastis, they celebrate the festival of Diana, sacrificing a great number of victims; and on that occasion, a greater consumption of wine takes place than during the whole of the year; for, according to the accounts of the people themselves, no less than 700,000 persons of both sexes are present, besides children."

* Herodot. ii. 59, 60.

† *Vide suprà*, Vol. II. p. 317, 318. The crotala were either cymbals, or a sort of clapper of wood or metal. Perhaps the same as the cylindrical maces mentioned in Vol. II. p. 257. Conf. Propert. iv. Eleg. ix. 13.

"Nile, tuus tibicen erat crotalistria Phillis."

Pasht, or Bubastis, is a member of the great triad of Memphis, and the usual companion of Pthah; by whom she is said, in the hieroglyphic legends, to be "beloved." Herodotus considers her the daughter of Bacchus (Osiris†) and Isis. Were this true, she could not hold a rank among the eight great Deities, but those of the third or even fourth order; and his assertion is fully disproved by the exalted character she bears in the temples of Thebes. This error I believe to have arisen from the supposed identity of Horus (the son of Osiris) and the Sun, or the Apollo of the Greeks, whose sister Diana was reputed to be. Horus the elder, whom they called Aroeris, was brother of Osiris, and said to be the same as the Sun; whence he also was considered by the Greeks to answer to Apollo. But it was the younger Horus who was the son of Isis and Osiris, and *he had no sister;* nor, indeed, could Bubastis have been the sister of the Egyptian Aroeris. Another mistake respecting this Goddess arose from the idea that Isis was the same as the Moon; and the relationship of Isis and her brother Aroeris confirmed the Greeks in this erroneous fancy. Isis, however, was distinct from the Moon; she was in no way connected with Bubastis; and the latter Goddess was not the representative of that luminary.

Ovid has reported the fabulous story of the Egyptian Diana (if, indeed, she can be called by that name) assuming the form of a cat, to avoid the

* Herodot. ii. 156.

enmity of Typho.* But Juvenal has banished her from the Pantheon of Egypt: "Oppida tota canem venerantur, *nemo* Dianam," not, as the learned Prichard supposes, because "her worship had been discontinued, or had sunk into obscurity, before Egypt fell under the Roman yoke," but because Juvenal, in common with so many other persons who visited the country, was ignorant of the nature of its religion. The Greeks, indeed, gave to Diana three different characters. As the Moon, she was Lucina; as Goddess of the Chace, Diana; as a Deity of the lower regions, Proserpine or Hecate. Hence the poets styled her "*triformis;*" and they sometimes represented her with three heads†,—that on the right being of a horse, that on the left of a dog, and that in the middle of a wild boar,—though Pausanias‡ thinks this custom neither ancient nor universal. But the form and attributes of nearly all the Greek Deities were very uncertain; and Cicero has shown how confused were their genealogies and origin. He even confesses that the mode of representing them depended on the caprice of painters and fabulists§, who committed the palpable absurdity of representing the Gods subject to anger, lust, and other bad passions, and exposed to the infirmities of human nature.

* "Fele soror Phœbi . . . latuit . . . Cyllenius ibidis alis." Ovid. Met. lib. v. 330.

† Virg. Æn. lib. iv. 511.

"Tergeminamque Hecatem, tria virginis ora Dianæ."

‡ Paus. in Corinth. c. 30.

§ Cicero (Nat. Deor.) says, "Nos Deos omnes eâ facie novimus, quâ pictores fictoresque voluerunt."

The idea of a connection existing between Pasht and Hecate seems to be in some degree authorised by the sculptures of the Egyptian temples, since we find the hieroglyphical name of the latter attached to the Goddess before us *; and the character and title of Hecate were also applied to Maut and Isis.

Another reason that the Moon in the Egyptian mythology could not be related to Bubastis, is, that it was a male and not a female Deity, personified in the God Thoth. This was also the case in some religions of the West. The Romans recognised the God Lunus; and the Germans, like the Arabs, to this day, consider the Moon masculine, and not feminine, as were the Seléné and Luna of the Greeks and Latins.

Neith, Minerva.

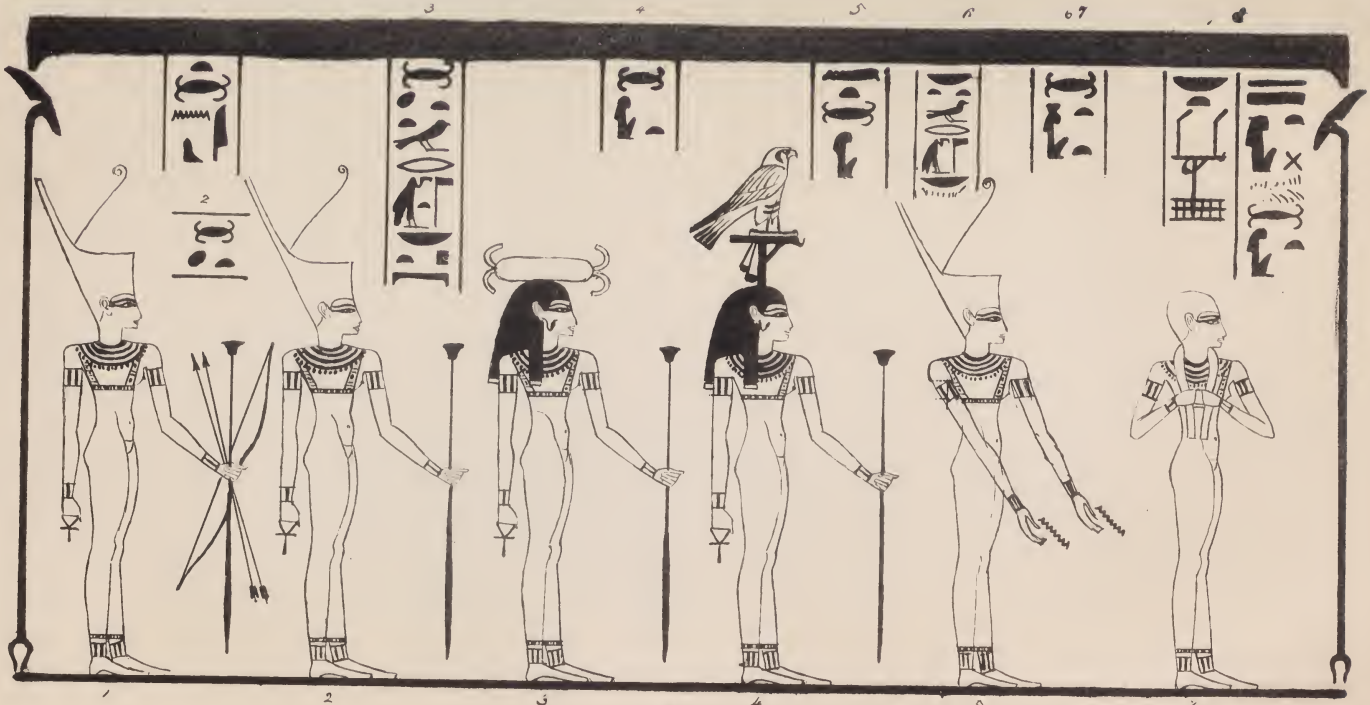
Neith, the Egyptian Minerva, was particularly worshipped at Saïs †, in the Delta; Pausanias pretends that Minerva at Thebes was styled Onka, as in Phœnician, and Saïs in other parts of Egypt; but it is evident that she was called Neith, both in the Upper and Lower Country; and Plato‡ and Eratosthenes are correct in stating this to be her Egyptian name. "There is," says the former, "a

* Plate 27. Part 2. Hierog. No. 2.

† Cicero is correct in saying, "Minerva secunda, orta Nilo, quam Ægyptii Saitæ colunt." Nat. Deor. iii. p. 248.

‡ "Πολεως (*i. e.* Saïs) θεος αρχηγος εστιν, Αιγυπτιστι μεν τουνομα Νηιθ, Ἑλληνιστι δε, ὡς ὁ εκεινων λογος, Αθηνα." Plato in Timæo, p. 1043. ed. Franc.

NEITH.



certain nome of Egypt in the Delta, called Saïtic, whose capital is the city of Saïs, the birthplace of King Amasis. The founder of this city was a Goddess, whom the Egyptians call Neith, the Greeks Minerva; and its inhabitants are very much attached to the Athenians, to whom they consider themselves in some degree related."*

Stephanus of Byzantium, Hesychius, and others, agree with Plutarch in saying that the Minerva of Thebes had the appellation of Onka; and it is worthy of remark, that an instance occurs there of the name of Neith with the adjunct Onk or Ank, as is shown by the hieroglyphics of the accompanying Plate†, which may either be an occasional title of the Goddess Neith, or be corrupted from the name of Anóuké, the Egyptian Vesta.

Some have supposed the word Saïs to signify an olive tree, on the assumption that *Saith* in Hebrew has this meaning; but neither was the Saïte nome famed for the growth of this tree, nor was the olive supposed by the Egyptians to be the gift of Minerva. *Saith*, indeed, is not the Hebrew word; it is *Zêth* זית, the same as the Arabic *Zêt*, signifying oil, and the town of Saïs was called, in Egyptian, Ssa or Sai, and has not, therefore, one letter in common with the Hebrew name of the olive. An additional reason for this conjecture was, probably, the fact of Athens having been colonised by people from Saïs‡, who were supposed to have

* It is amusing to observe the pretensions of the Greeks, who fancied themselves the founders of Saïs and of Heliopolis. Diodor. v. 57. &c.

† *Vide* Plate 28. Hierog. No. 1. ‡ Diodor. i. 28.

taken with them the worship of Minerva, and the olive tree her emblem; but there is no appearance of this tree, or the owl, having been sacred to the Egyptian Neith; and Diodorus expressly states, that "the Egyptians considered themselves indebted for the olive to Mercury, and not to Minerva, as is the opinion of the Greeks."*

It has been conjectured, that the Greek name Athena or Thena was derived from the Egyptian word Neith or Neth, by an inversion of the order of the letters,—the Egyptians writing it from right to left, and the Greeks from left to right; but this is of little moment; nor is it important to inquire whether Athens gave its name to Athena, or the Goddess to the town. Some have supposed the Minerva of Athens to be a daughter of Cecrops; but this notion probably originated in his introduction of her worship, when he led a colony from Saïs to the Athenian shore.

In hieroglyphics, the name of Neith is usually composed of the following character, or , accompanied by the half circle and egg, the female signs, or by two half circles; and an instance occurs at Esneh of the word written with the bowl, or basket †; though this last is uncommon, and of Roman time. Her figure is frequently represented at Esneh, where, Strabo says, Minerva and the Latus fish were particularly worshipped.

* Diodor. i. 16.

† In either case they read Nt, Neit, or Nith.

Plutarch* shows that he misunderstands the character of Neith, when he attributes to Isis the inscription in the temple of Minerva, "I am every thing which has been, which is, and which will be, and no mortal has yet lifted up my veil;" for though Isis may frequently have taken the attributes of Neith and of other Deities, they were always kept distinct in the Egyptian Pantheon. In another place†, he says, "Isis is frequently called, by the Egyptians, *Athena*‡, signifying, in their language, I proceeded from myself;" from which the Greeks probably borrowed the idea of that Goddess being born without a mother. But *Athena* was not her Egyptian name; and she was not, as already observed, the same as Isis.

Neith was to Saïs, what Amun was to Thebes. The names of several Monarchs of the 26th Dynasty contained the legend of the Egyptian Minerva; and in the sacred precincts of her temple were buried all the Kings of that Saïte family.

Neith was represented as a female wearing the crown of the Lower country, and holding in her hand the hooked staff of the Gods, or the usual flower-headed sceptre of the Goddesses, sometimes with the addition of a bow and arrows; being, as Proclus§ tells us, the Goddess of War, as well as of Philosophy, and bearing some resemblance in her attributes to the Minerva of Greece. She was styled the "Mother of the Gods," or "Goddess

* Plut. de Is. s. 9. † Plut. de Is. s. 62.

‡ This may have been corrupted from one of the Egyptian titles of Isis.

§ Proclus in Timæum.

Mother," though distinct from Maut; and Porphyry, as quoted by Macrobius*, considers her "that virtue of the Sun which administers prudence to the human mind." Clemens mentions† a peculiarity in her worship,—"that the wisest of the Egyptian priests established the sanctuary of Minerva in the open air, as the Jews made their temple without any image;" which, if true, might appear to have some connection with the statement of Horapollo, that this Goddess "presided over the upper, as Juno over the lower, hemisphere." Diodorus‡ thinks, that she was a deified personification of the "*air*," "the daughter of Jove, and deemed a virgin because air is of an incorruptible nature." He also derives the fable of her being "produced from Jupiter's head, from her elevated position above the world; as her name Tritogenia from her thrice changing her nature,— in spring, summer, and winter," the three seasons of the Egyptian year. Lions were said to be sacred to her, as to the Cybele of the Phrygians; and the vulture is supposed by some to have been emblematic of the Egyptian Minerva.

GODS OF THE SECOND AND OTHER ORDERS.

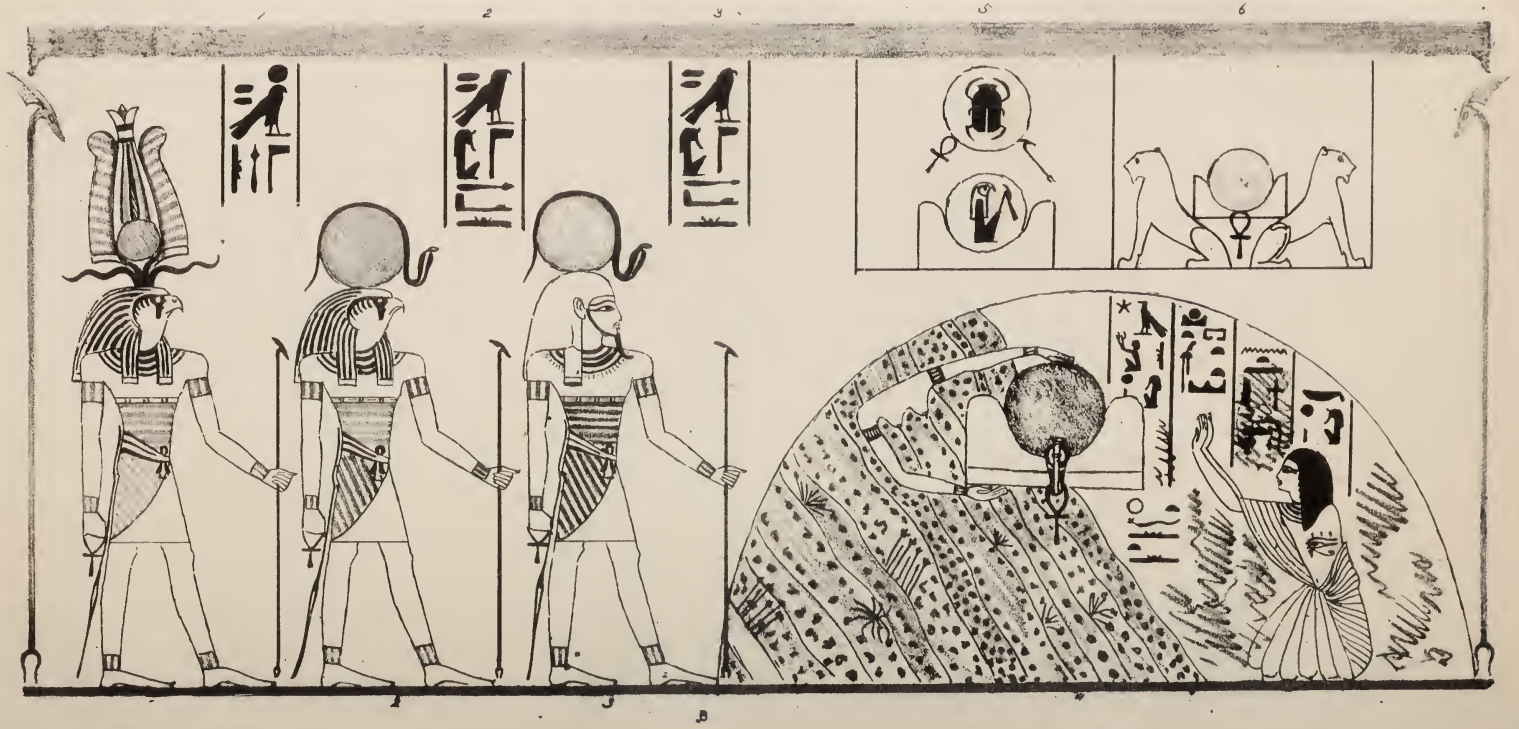
In mentioning the remaining Gods, it is not my intention to point out the order of the twelve secondary Deities, and thence proceed to those of the third order. I shall therefore follow, as nearly

* Macrob. Saturn. i. 19.

† Clem. Strom. v. p. 155. Compare this with the construction of the Parthenon.

‡ Diodor. i. 12.

RE, OR RA



as possible, the arrangement adopted in my Materia Hieroglyphica, after I have noticed the God Rê, the physical Sun, whom I had there placed among the eight great Deities of Egypt.

Rê, or Ra, Helios, The Sun.

The worship of Rê, the physical Sun, appears to have been universal throughout Egypt. The name of this Deity, though written Rê, was pronounced Ra; and, with the definite article Pi prefixed, it was the same as Phrah, or, as we erroneously call it, Pharaoh, of Scripture, — Pirê, in the Theban dialect, being written at Memphis Φρη, Phrê. I have already noticed * the origin of the title Phrah, Pharaoh, given in the Bible to the Kings of Egypt, and have shown that the Hebrew word פרעה Phrah is no other than the Memphitic name of the sun, Phrê, pronounced Phra, which is still retained in the Coptic Pi-rê. I have also shown that the hawk and globe, emblems of the Sun, are placed over the banners or the figures of the Kings in the sculptures to denote this title, and that Amun and other Deities are often seen presenting the sign of life or power to the Monarch under this emblem. "In every case," as I have observed, "it will read Phrê; and if Hermapion, in his translation of the Obelisk of Remeses (given by Ammianus Marcellinus), had used the word 'Sun'

* Materia Hierog. Pantheon, p. 6. 109., and Hierog. Extracts, p. 6. I think it right to allude particularly to my mention of this as early as the year 1827, as it has lately appeared as a new observation.

instead of 'Apollo,' the sense would have been much better.

No. 448. 1 2 3 *Thebes and Memphis.*

1. 3. King under the form of a hawk, and of a sphinx.
2, in his usual form, before the God.

" It is singular that the Greeks never mention the title Phrê (or Pharaoh, as we term it); and I can only account for this by supposing that they translated it wherever it occurred, as is the case in Hermapion's translation of the Obelisk, where in the third column, instead of 'the powerful Apollo,' we ought to read 'the powerful Phrê (Pharaoh *), the all splendid Son of the Sun.' "† This adoption of the name of the Sun as a regal title was probably owing to the idea that, as the Sun was the chief of heavenly bodies‡, he was a fit emblem of the King, who was the ruler of all on earth; and it is one of the many instances of analogies which occur in the religious system of the Egyptians. The importance attached to this Deity may be readily inferred from the fact of every Pharaoh having the title "Son of the Sun,' preceding his phonetic nomen, and the first name of

* Josephus supposes this name to be taken from Phouro, "the King," in Egyptian; but though Phouro has this meaning, it is not the word used for Pharaoh either in Hebrew or Egyptian.

† Hierog. Extracts, p. 8.

‡ Conf. Porphyry de Abstin. "Quorum ducem esse Solem." *Vide suprà*, p. 210.

which their prænomens was composed being that of the Sun. In many, too, the phonetic nomen commenced with the name of Re, as the Remeses and others; and the expressions, "living for ever, like the Sun," "the splendid Phrê," are common on all obelisks and dedicatory inscriptions.

The frequent occurrence of the name of Rê, and the great respect paid to the Sun, even in towns where other Deities presided, tend to show the estimation in which this God was held throughout Egypt, and suggest the probability of the early worship of the heavenly bodies, previous to the adaptation of a metaphysical theory to the nature of the Gods.* This, indeed, is the opinion of several ancient writers; though they are wrong in assigning to Osiris and Isis the characters of the Sun and Moon.† Diodorus‡ says, "The first generation of men in Egypt, contemplating the beauty of the superior world, and admiring with astonishment the frame and order of the universe, imagined that there were two chief Gods, eternal and primary, the Sun and Moon, the first of whom they called Osiris, the other Isis. . . . They held that these Gods governed the whole world, cherishing and increasing all things; . . . that in their natures they contributed much to the generation of those things; the one being of a hot and active nature, and the other moist and cold, but both having something of the air. They also said

* *Vide suprà*, p. 209.
† *Vide suprà*, p. 214.
‡ Diodor. i. 11.

that every particular being in the universe was perfected and completed by the Sun and Moon, whose qualities were five: a spirit or quickening efficacy, heat or fire, dryness or earth, moisture or water, and air. . . . These five were denominated Gods: . . . the Spirit being called Jupiter; the fire, Vulcan; the Earth, Mother (as the Greek Demetra was at first called Genmetera); water, Oceanus; and the air, Minerva, the reputed daughter of Jupiter." That the historian is wrong, in supposing Osiris and Isis to have corresponded to the Sun and Moon, is evident; and the names and character he gives to the five Deities, as well as the idea of their proceeding from the two former, are equally at variance with the notions of the Egyptians. But part of his statement may possibly be true,—that the first Gods were the Sun and Moon; and his error in assigning the names of Osiris and Isis may be accounted for by the limited acquaintance of the Greeks and Romans with the mythology of Egypt.

Macrobius* makes a similar mistake respecting these Deities,—the former of whom he calls "the Sun, and the latter Earth, or Nature;" and when he adds, "The Egyptians show Osiris to have this character, when in hieroglyphics they represent him emblematically by an eye and sceptre," he proves how little conversant he was with the religious notions of that people. If the allegories mentioned by Plutarch were really Egyptian, they

* Macrob. Saturn. i. 26. Conf. Plut. s. 10. and 51.

could only be the visions of speculators (like the many allegorical fancies, to which facts mentioned in the Bible have been doomed to submit by the Cabbala), forming no part of their religious belief, and unsupported by the authority of monuments.

In my Pantheon, I had introduced Rê among the eight great Deities, in consequence of the important station he holds in the temples, both of the Upper and Lower Country; but, as before observed *, it is probable that Amun-re and Rê were not of the same class of Gods, since the Intellectual was of more consequence than the Physical Sun, and Manetho calls him the son of Pthah; I have therefore placed him among those of the second order.

If the Egyptians, like some other Eastern people, adopted at first a Sabæan mode of worship †, and afterwards substituted for it the deification of various attributes of the Deity himself, there would be reason to suppose that the Sun once held *the first place* in their Pantheon, and was not removed from it till they had learnt to consider the divine mind of the Creator superior to the work he had created. But it is now impossible to settle this question; and it will probably always remain uncertain, if that was the primitive mode of worship in Egypt, or if their religion was corrupted from the originally pure idea communicated to them by the early descendants of Noah, who established themselves in the valley of the Nile. The great importance of the name of Rê may seem to argue in favour

* *Suprà*, p. 210. 228. 246.
† *Suprà*, p. 209. 242. *Vide* Diodor. i. 11.

of the former opinion; and the connection of a star with an attitude of prayer may tend to confirm it. Some may even be disposed to see the union of the two systems in the name of Amun-re.

No. 449. Figures praying accompanied by a star.

But if, in former times, the Egyptians really adopted a Sabæan mode of worship, and if the worship of Re, and of Thoth in one of his characters as the Moon, appear to confirm this opinion, there is sufficient evidence to show that their religion, at the time we know it, — consequently long before the age of any writer with whose name we are acquainted, — had already assumed a very different character. The existence of an early Sabæan worship in Egypt is merely possible; while the metaphysical nature of their religion is proved by abundant evidence, both of ancient writers and the monuments; and we are therefore bound to consider it as it presents itself to us, rather than to be led away by conjecture. And, however much I respect the valuable opinion of many writers, especially the learned Dr. Prichard, who maintains that "the principal objects of Egyptian worship were those physical agents, whose operative energy is the most conspicuous in the phænomena of nature *," I must, from the evidence before me, deny that physical agents constituted the principal Deities of the Egyptians. If their metaphysical doctrines, divulged alone to

* Prichard, Egypt. Mythol. p. 27. *Vide suprà*, p. 218.

the initiated, are not within our reach, sufficient is shown to convince us that the nature of the great Gods was not derived from mere physical objects; and that those, which, in consequence of certain notions respecting analogies and emanations, were admitted to a participation of divine honours, held a subordinate post to the deified attributes of the Divinity.

As with the Greeks, the planets were dedicated to, and called after, certain Deities, though the Egyptians differed in the names they assigned to them. The Egyptians, according to Achilles Tatius, agree with the Greeks, in giving to the planet Saturn, though the least brilliant, the title of the "*splendid;*" but the latter consider it of good omen, while the former denominate it the star of Nemesis. The second, of Jupiter, the Phaëton of the Greeks, is by the Egyptians assigned to Osiris. The third, of Mars, by the Greeks denominated the fiery, they refer to Hercules.* The fourth, of Mercury, called by the Greeks στιλβων, is the star of the Egyptian Apollo; and Pliny and Macrobius † also state that "the star of Mercury is given by many nations to Apollo." According to Pliny, the planet Venus was by some called of Isis ‡, (of Juno, or of the mother of the Gods); but the learned and laborious Jablonski § is not authorised in supposing this planet to have been ascribed by the Egyptians to

* Pliny (ii. 8.) says, "the *third*, of Mars, is by some called of Hercules." *Vide* Jablonski, Panth. i. c. 5. s. 4.

† Macrob. Saturn. i. 22.

‡ Isis and the Venus of Egypt are often and easily confounded together. *Vide infrà*, Isis and Athor.

§ Jablonski, iii. c. 6. s. 2. and 3.

Pan (whom he calls Mendes), and still less in his assertion of the *crux ansata*, or sign of life, having been dedicated to that Deity.

The motions of the Planets were calculated with great care by the Egyptians * ; but if every hierogrammat was required to understand all that related to them, the Sun, and Moon, as well as the geography of the world, this was not with a view to the worship of the heavenly bodies. Astronomy was studied in Egypt, as in other countries, without requiring the deification of those visible works of the Creator, or the substitution of created things for the Deity by whom they were created. And if their knowledge was concealed under the guise of a fable, in which, as Proclus says †, it was their custom to clothe the secrets of nature, this was only to conceal them from such as were not admitted to a participation of their learning, and not with any view connected with religion.‡

It has been generally supposed that Obelisks were dedicated exclusively to the Sun, and that they were called by the Egyptians (according to Jablonski) Pitêbpere, "the finger of the Sun." This, however, is a misconception not difficult to explain. The first Obelisks removed from Egypt to Rome were said to have come from Heliopolis, "the City of the Sun," which stood in Lower

* Seneca, Nat. Quæst. vii. 3., says, Eudoxus primus ab Ægypto hos motus in Græciam transtulit." "Ægyptios . . . quibus major cœli cura fuit."

† Proclus in Plat. Tim. lib. i.

‡ Iamblichus says Pythagoras imitated the Egyptians in his mode of teaching by symbols, having learnt this during his stay in their country. Vit. Pythag. 5. *Vide* Pausan. Vit. Pythag., and Plut. de Is. s. 10.

Egypt, a little to the south-east of the Delta; and those of Heliopolis being dedicated to Rê, the Divinity of the place, the Romans were led to conclude that all others belonged to the same God.* But the Obelisks of Thebes were ascribed to Amun, the presiding Deity of that city; and though several of those at Rome came from Thebes, and were therefore dedicated to Amun, the first impressions were too strong to be removed, and the notion of their exclusive appropriation to the Sun continued and has been repeated to the present day.

The God Rê was usually represented as a man, with a hawk's head surmounted by a globe or disk of the Sun, from which the Uræus asp issued; sometimes with the head of a man, and the same disk; and more rarely under the form of a hawk, his emblem. Porphyry says, "the hawk was dedicated to the Sun, being the symbol of light and spirit," because of the quickness of its motion, and its ascent to the higher regions of the air. Horapollo thinks it was chosen as a type of that luminary, "from its being able to look more intently towards its rays than any other bird; whence, also, under the form of a hawk, they depicted the Sun as the lord of Vision."† Horapollo also says‡ that the Scarabæus was an emblem of the Sun, in which he is borne out by the authority of the sculptures, though he is wrong in the reason he assigns for its adoption. He supposes it to be from a certain

* Pliny (xxxvi. 8.) says the first was raised in Heliopolis, which was the general idea among the Romans.

† Horapollo, i. 6.

‡ Horapollo, i. 10.

analogy which the species peculiarly sacred to Rê bore to the Cat, and that the Deity of Heliopolis was figured under the form of this animal. But the Cat was the emblem of Bubastis, not of Rê; and the presence of her statue at Heliopolis is explained by the custom of each city assigning to the Divinities of neighbouring places a conspicuous post in its own temples; and Bubastis was one of the principal contemplar Deities of Heliopolis. The Lions, said by Ælian* to have been kept in the courts of the temple of the Sun, were perhaps dedicated to the same Goddess; though there is some reason for believing his statement, as those animals are shown by the sculptures to have been also emblems of the Sun.

Rê was generally of a red colour, as was the globe of the Sun he bore upon his head. In this form, and with the name Rê written alphabetically and followed by a figure of the Sun, or with the hawk accompanied by two horizontal lines, he was in the character of the Sun going through his daily course. When at his meridian height he was sometimes accompanied by a Scarabæus, another emblem, as Porphyry observes, "adapted to the Sun;" and in his resting-place he was either indicated by the hawk, or by the title of Atin-re.† The same form is given to him when he set behind the western mountain of Thebes, and was received into the arms of Athor, who presided over that part of the universe, and represented night.‡

* *Vide infrà*, on the Lion. † *Vide* Plate 29. fig. 5.
‡ *Vide suprà*, p. 275.; and *infrà*, on Athor; and Pl. 29. fig. 4.

He was usually accompanied by the asp, the emblem of royalty and dominion, as well as by the symbols of life and purity, in token of his vivifying influence over all the animated creation; and in his concave resting-place, the lower firmament of heaven, he was sometimes supported on the backs of lions. This calls to mind an observation of Proclus *, that lions were considered solar animals. It also confirms the statement of Horapollo, that "the Egyptians place lions under the throne of Horus, showing that the animal bears a very great resemblance to the Sun: for the Sun is called by them Horus.†" And though he may be wrong in identifying the Sun with Horus, it is evident that he alludes to a similar mode of representing the Sun supported by lions. They were placed back to back, seated or lying down; and when made of stone, pottery, or other materials, they were united together, forming one body terminated by a head on either side. They were worn as amulets and ornaments,—the ring by which they were attached answering to the Sun; and I have found one instance of a cow's head substituted for that of one of the lions.‡

The name Atin-re cannot fail to call to mind Attin, or Atys, the Phrygian Sun; and from the ovals of the King, who was noted for the peculiar worship of the Sun represented at the grottoes of

* Proclus de Sacrif. "Some animals are solar . . . as lions." *Vide* Plate 29. fig. 6.

† Horapollo, i. 17.; and *infrà*, on Horus.

‡ *Vide* Macrob. Saturn. i. 26.

Tel el Amarna*, being always so systematically erased, some may argue the animosity of the people against a King, who had made an unwelcome foreign innovation in the religion of the country, or at least in the mode of worshipping that Deity. But the *name* of Atin-re already existed at a very early period; and though the subjects of Tel el Amarna rarely occur †, except in those grottoes and the vicinity, some traces may elsewhere be found of the Sun represented with similar rays, in sculptures of the time of the great Remeses.

If, as I have already remarked ‡, Amenti signifies the receiver and giver, Amun-re may be opposed to Atin-re, in the same sense.

Many other subdivisions or emanations of the God Rê may be traced in the characters of other Egyptian Deities, as Aroeris, Mandooli, and others of whom I shall have occasion to treat hereafter. We also find Neph standing in the Sun accompanied by the Scarab, in which character he may bear some relation to the God Rê.

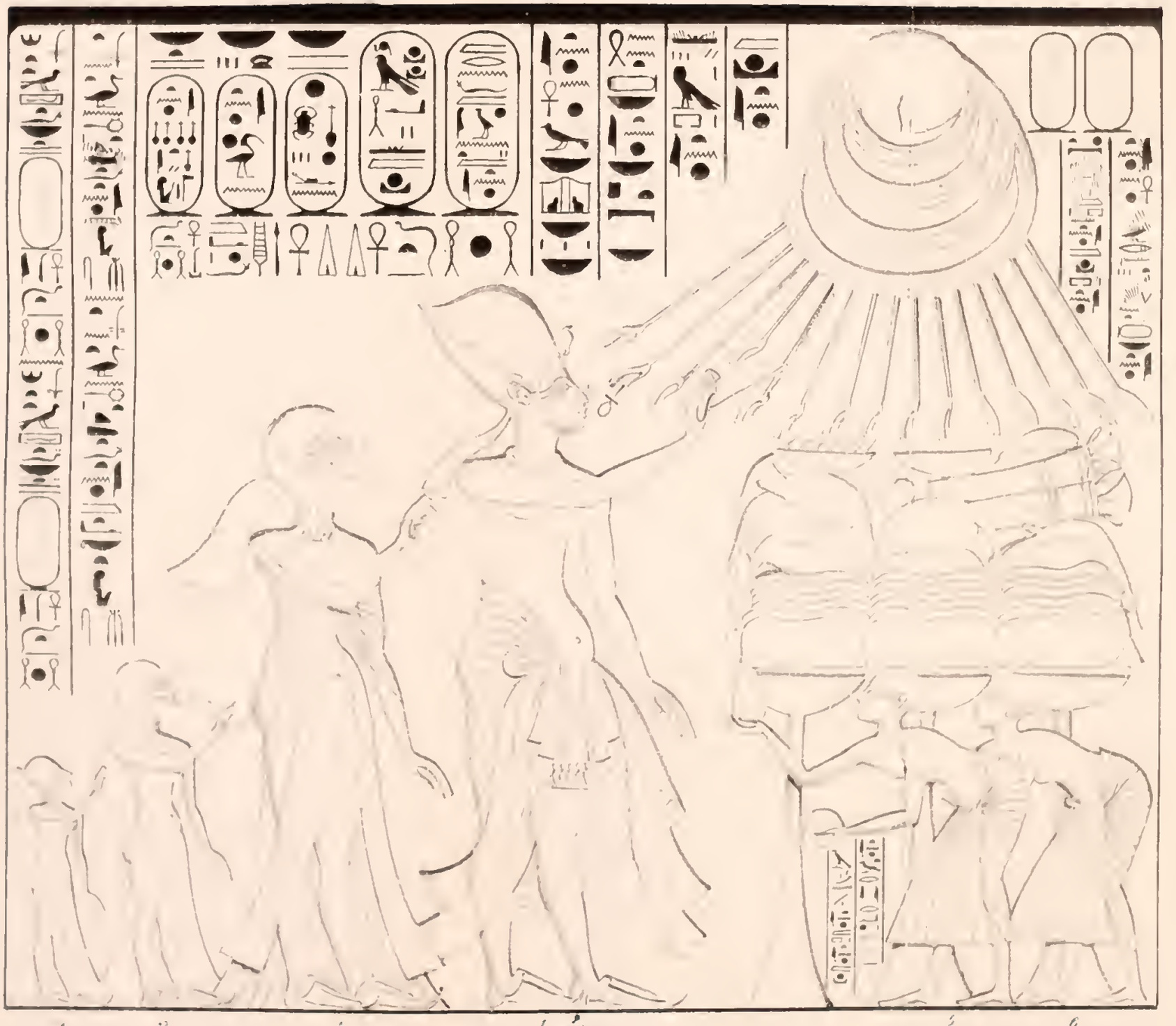
It is probable that they separated the light from the heat of the Sun, as the Greeks considered Phœbus distinct from Apollo. The latter, too, made a distinction between Apollo and Helios ("the Sun"); and their mythology, according to Cicero, admitted four Deities who bore the name of Apollo; one of whom, the reputed son of Vul-

* *Vide* Plate 30.

† I found some of the sculptures of this King at Ḳoos, *Apollinopolis parva*, near Thebes; and have since heard of others at the Temple of Karnak, destroyed and built over by Amunoph III.

‡ *Vide suprà*, p. 246.

ATINRE.



THE KING & QUEEN WITH THEIR CHILDREN PRAYING TO THE SUN.

ALABASTRON

can, was supposed to be the same as the Aroeris of Egypt.

There is reason to believe that the God Re corresponded to the Syrian Baal (בעל), a name implying "Lord *," which was given *par excellence* to the Sun: and the same idea of peculiar sovereignty vested in that Deity may have led the Egyptians to take from Rê (Phra) the regal title of their Kings. Heliopolis, in Syria, still retains the name of Baalbek, "the city of (the Lord, or) the Sun;" and the same word occurs in the names of distinguished individuals among the Phœnicians, and their descendants of Carthage †, as Anni*bal*, Asdru*bal*, and others.

If the Egyptians separated the orb from the rays of the Sun, they were not singular in that idea; the same was common to the Greeks; for, as the philosopher Sallust says ‡, "it is only from established custom that we are induced to call the orb of the Sun and its rays the Sun itself;" and they, also, found reason to deify those two, and to make of them two separate Divinities. Indeed, it appears that the Egyptians made of the Sun several distinct Deities: as the intellectual Sun, the physical orb, the cause of heat, the author of light, the power of the Sun, the vivifying cause, the Sun in the firmament, and the Sun in his resting-place;

* As Beelzebub or Baalzebûb בעל זבוב, "the lord of flies." Baalim, "lords," or "idols." Judg. ii. 11.

† Servius, on these verses of Virgil —

"Implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus et omnes
A Belo soliti,"—Æn. i. 733.

says, "Linguâ Punicâ Bal Deus dicitur, apud Assyrios autem Bel dicitur."

‡ In his fourth book on the Gods of the world.

and many other characters of the Sun were probably admitted into the Pantheon of Egypt.

Heliopolis, (Ainshems, or Bethshemesh,) the On of Scripture, a small but celebrated city of Lower Egypt, was the place where the worship of Re was peculiarly adopted. Plutarch says*, "Those who minister to the God of Heliopolis never carry any wine into the temple, — looking upon it as indecent to drink it during the day, when under the immediate inspection of their Lord and King. The priests of the other Deities are not altogether so scrupulous on this point; making use of it, though sparingly, unless at some of their more solemn purifications, when they wholly abstain from it. Indeed, they give themselves up wholly to study and meditation, hearing and teaching those truths which regard the divine nature." This, however, does not appear to refer to the ordinary libations made to the Sun, which were doubtless of wine†; as the usual drink-offerings presented to the Gods; but to a regulation which prevented the priests from indulging in the use of wine; and we find abundant proofs, from the sculptures in other places, of its having been offered to the Sun.

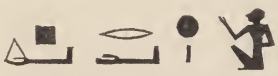
Plutarch continues to observe, that "even the Kings themselves, being of the order of priests, have their wine given them according to a certain measure prescribed in the sacred books, as we are told by Hecatæus; and it is only since the reign of Psammetichus, that this indulgence has been granted them; for, before that time, they drank no

* Plut. de Is. s. 6.

† *Vide suprà*, Vol. II. p. 164. note ¶.

wine at all; and if they made use of it in their libations to the Gods, it was not because they looked upon it as in its own nature acceptable, but as the blood of those enemies who formerly fought against them, which, being mixed with the earth, produced the vine; and hence they think that drinking wine in quantities makes men mad, being filled with the blood of their own ancestors. These things are related by Eudoxus, in the second book of his Tour, as he had them from the priests themselves." The assertion, however, respecting the prohibition of wine, previous to the time of Psammetichus, is erroneous; and I have already shown *, that the Kings and priests were permitted its use at the earliest periods, as the sculptures abundantly prove, as well as the scriptural account of Pharaoh's butler. †

It was of Heliopolis, or On, that Potipherah ‡ was a priest, whose daughter Asenath was given in marriage to Joseph; and the name of that person, פוטי פרע, is evidently compounded of Phrê or Phrah, "the Sun," and answers to the Egyptian Pet-phrê, or Heliodotus, which, in hieroglyphics, would be thus written:



No. 450 Name of Potipherah, Pet-phrê, or Pet-re.

The priests of the Sun at Heliopolis, like those of Thebes and Memphis, were celebrated for their learning; and it was to this city that Plato, Eu-

* *Vide* Vol. I. p. 253., and Vol. II. p. 165.
† Gen. xl. 11. ‡ Gen. xli. 45.

doxus, and other Greek sages repaired, in order to study "the wisdom of the Egyptians;" and "Pythagoras," according to Plutarch*, "was the disciple of Oinuphis the Heliopolite." Astronomy and all branches of science were studied at Heliopolis: and the priests of the Sun enjoyed the greatest reputation for learning. Their city, though small, was the university of Egypt; and near it was an observatory, which Strabo † attributes to Eudoxus, but which we may conclude with greater reason belonged of old to the city, whither he had gone from Greece to study the secrets of the Egyptian wisdom.

In the time of the geographer, the reputation of this seat of learning had already declined; the spacious mansions in which the priests lived were pointed out to him as objects of bygone days; and the inhabitants spoke of the former sojourn of learned men among them. The colleges, as well as the doctrines they taught, no longer existed in Heliopolis; nor was any one shown to him who occupied himself in the pursuits of former times. Alexandria was the seat of learning at that period: philosophy seemed to have sought an abode and patronage near the court; even its obelisks were removed with its learning from Heliopolis, and all that could give it splendour or celebrity was taken to the new city.

The hawk, as before stated, was peculiarly sacred to the Sun. Herodotus also mentions a bird called

* Plut. de Is. s. 10. † Strabo, xvii. p. 555.

the Phœnix, of which he gives the following account* : — "I have never seen it but in a painting, for it seldom makes its appearance, and, if we may believe the Heliopolitans, it only visits their country once every 500 years, on the death of its father. If it is like its picture, its wings are partly gold, partly red, and its general appearance is similar to an eagle both in form and size. They relate a peculiarity respecting it, which to me appears incredible. It comes, as the Egyptians say, from Arabia, bringing with it the body of its father enveloped in myrrh, and buries it in the temple of the Sun. For this purpose it makes a mass of myrrh into the form of an egg, of the weight which it thinks itself capable of carrying, and having raised it and found it portable, it proceeds to hollow out the mass; and then introducing the body of its father, and closing the orifice with myrrh, the egg is found to be of the same weight as when solid; and this being done, it brings it to Egypt and deposits it in the temple of the Sun."

"The Phœnix of Arabia," says Pliny †, "surpasses all other birds; but I do not know if it be a fable that there is only one in the whole world, and that seldom seen. According to report, it is the size of an eagle, of a gold colour about the neck, the rest being purple, its tail blue, varied with red feathers, its face and head richly feathered, with a tuft on the top. Manilius observes that no man ever saw it feeding; that in Arabia it is held sacred

* Herodot. ii. 73. † Plin. x. 2.

to the Sun; that it lives 660 years, and when it grows old it builds a nest with twigs of cassia and frankincense, and having filled it with aromatics, dies upon it. A worm is afterwards produced from its bones and marrow, which, having become a young bird, carries the entire nest to the city of the Sun, near Panchæa, and there deposits it on the altar. Manilius also says that the revolution of the great year agrees with the life of this bird, in which the seasons and stars return to their first places; beginning at noon on the day when the Sun enters Aries."

This imaginary bird, of which so many tales have been handed down to a late period, is frequently represented in the paintings and sculptures of the temples of Egypt, though without appearing peculiarly emblematic of, or sacred to, the Sun. It occurs in the ornamental details of cornices, friezes, and other parts of buildings, at the bases of columns, and on the sails of ships; and sometimes a Monarch is seen presenting it as an offering to the Gods. According to Horapollo *, it was the emblem of one who had returned home after travelling over distant countries; and it was, therefore, very properly chosen to ornament monuments erected by the victorious Monarchs of Egypt, after achieving conquests, that shed a lustre over their names, and claimed the congratulations of a grateful country for their safe return.

The Egyptian Phœnix is represented under the form of a bird with wings partly raised, and seated

* Horapollo, i. 35.

THE PHŒNIX.

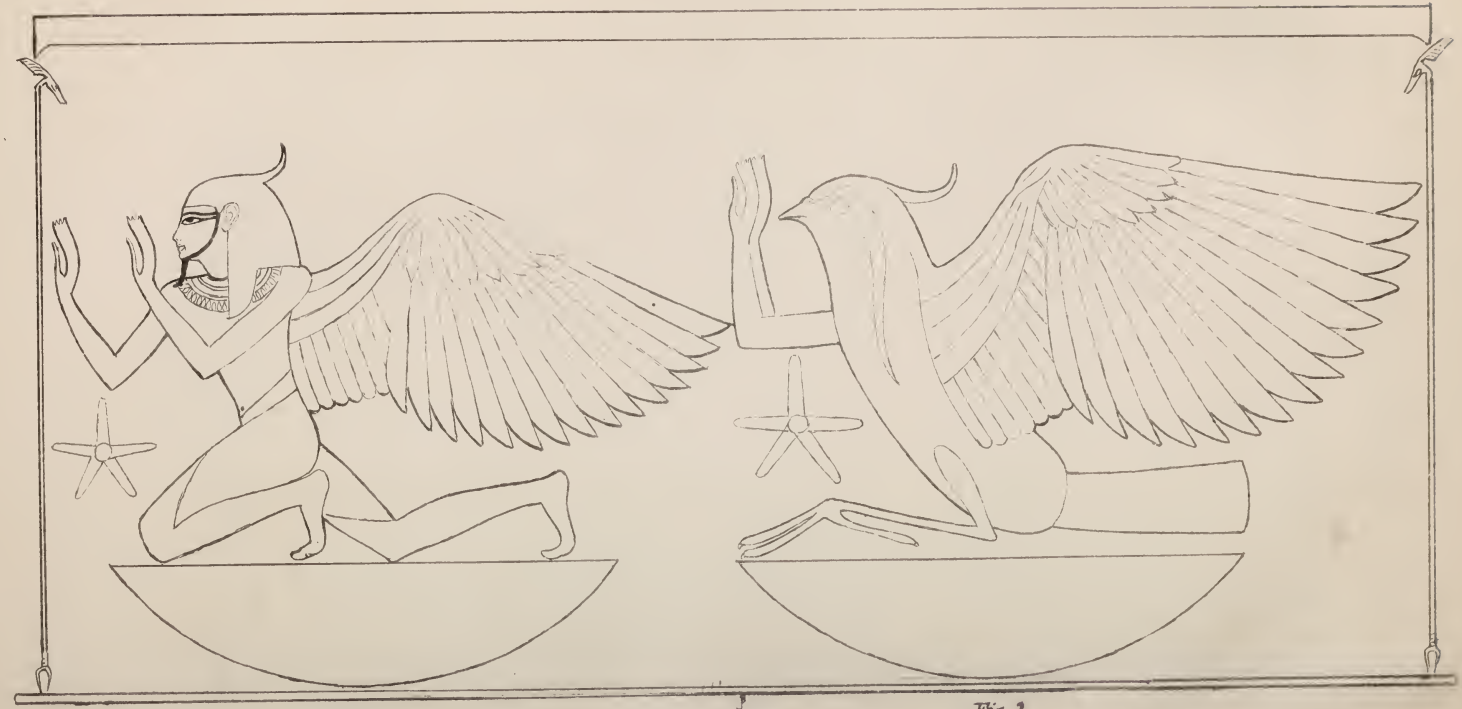


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

upon its open claws, having at the back of its head a small tuft of feathers similar to that of the crested plover, so common in Egypt; and in front it raises two human arms as if in an attitude of prayer. But it may be doubted if this be the same whose picture Herodotus mentions; and from the slight description he gives of it, we might rather suppose he had in view the hawk, which was the emblem of Re, and which is seen on obelisks and other monuments, whether dedicated to the Sun or other Deities. They sometimes represent the Phœnix under the form of a man with wings, in the same attitude of prayer, and bearing the tuft of feathers on his head*, accompanied also by a star, which, as I have observed, seems to have been connected with the idea of adoration.†

Of its name in the Egyptian language we are ignorant; Ovid says, "the Assyrians call it Phœnix;" and from this bird and the palm tree having the same name in Greek, we are sometimes in doubt to which of the two ancient writers in that language allude, as in the case of the φοινικα, carried in the hand of the Horoscopus, mentioned by Clemens. Pliny even pretends that the bird received its name from the palm.‡

In the time of Herodotus, as the learned Larcher observes, the notion of the Phœnix rising from its ashes had not yet been entertained. Suidas, who flourished about the 10th century, states, that from

* Conf. Plin. xi. 37., and x. 2. This has even descended to the conventional bird of our own fire-offices.

† *Vide* Plate 30. *a.*; and *suprà*, p. 292.

‡ Plin. xiii. 4.

its ashes issued a worm which changed itself into a Phœnix; and the early fathers of the Greek and Latin Church availed themselves of this accredited fable as a proof of the resurrection.* But though the story of its rising from its ashes may have been a late invention, the Phœnix itself was of very ancient date, being found on monuments erected about the commencement of the 18th Dynasty. And we even find mention of this long-lived bird in the book of Job.† This, at least, is the opinion of Bede, who, in accordance with the Septuagint translation of the word we render "*sand*," reads "I shall die in my *nest*, and shall multiply my days as the *Phœnix:*" and Dr. Prichard, Gesenius, and others, adopt the same interpretation of the passage.

Several ancient writers mention the periodical return of the Phœnix: some agreeing with Herodotus in fixing it at about 800 years; while others state it to have been 660, 600, 500, 340, or 1460. "Various," says Tacitus‡, "are the opinions respecting the number of years. They most commonly allow 500, though some extend the interval to 1461, and assert that the bird appeared in the age of Sesostris, of Amasis, and the third Ptolemy." But these two periods do not agree: that from Sesostris (or Remeses the Great) to Amasis being

* Ambrosius says: "Phœnix avis in Arabiæ locis perhibetur .... doceat igitur nos hæc avis exemplo sui resurrectionem credere." Hexaemer. lib. v. c. 23. It is also celebrated by Lactantius, Gregory Nazianzenus, and Tertullian.

† Job. xxix. 18. The Hebrew name is חול *Hol* or *Khol*, which also means "sand," as in our version. The Septuagint has Φοινιξ.

‡ Tacit. Annal. vi. 28. Sen. Ep. 42.

about 780 years; that from Amasis to Ptolemy III. about 330.

Some have thought that, by the Phœnix, the Egyptians intended to indicate the appearance of Comets; and I have seen a paper written to prove that the average * number of years assigned to the return of the Phœnix corresponded to the great Comet of 1680. Without however assenting to the opinion of Seneca † (who thinks, "because Eudoxus, having studied in Egypt, and thence introduced into Greece the knowledge of the motions of the planets, took no notice of comets, that the Egyptians, the greatest observers of celestial phænomena, had not attended to this part of the subject,") I must confess that the reappearance of the Phœnix appears rather to indicate, as Pliny, on the authority of Manilius, supposes, the return of a certain period. And the mention of the number 1461 argues strongly in favour of the opinion that the Sothic period was the real Phœnix of Egypt. This, as I have elsewhere shown ‡, was the number of years that elapsed before the Solar year of 365 days coincided with the Sothic or fixed year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. It was also called the Great Year of the Egyptians, at the end of which all the planets returned to the same place they occupied at its commencement.

* The average of 600 and 540 years is taken by the writer, being 575.

† Sen. Nat. Quæst. lib. vii. c. 3.

‡ *Vide suprà*, p. 87.; and *infrà*, on Isis.

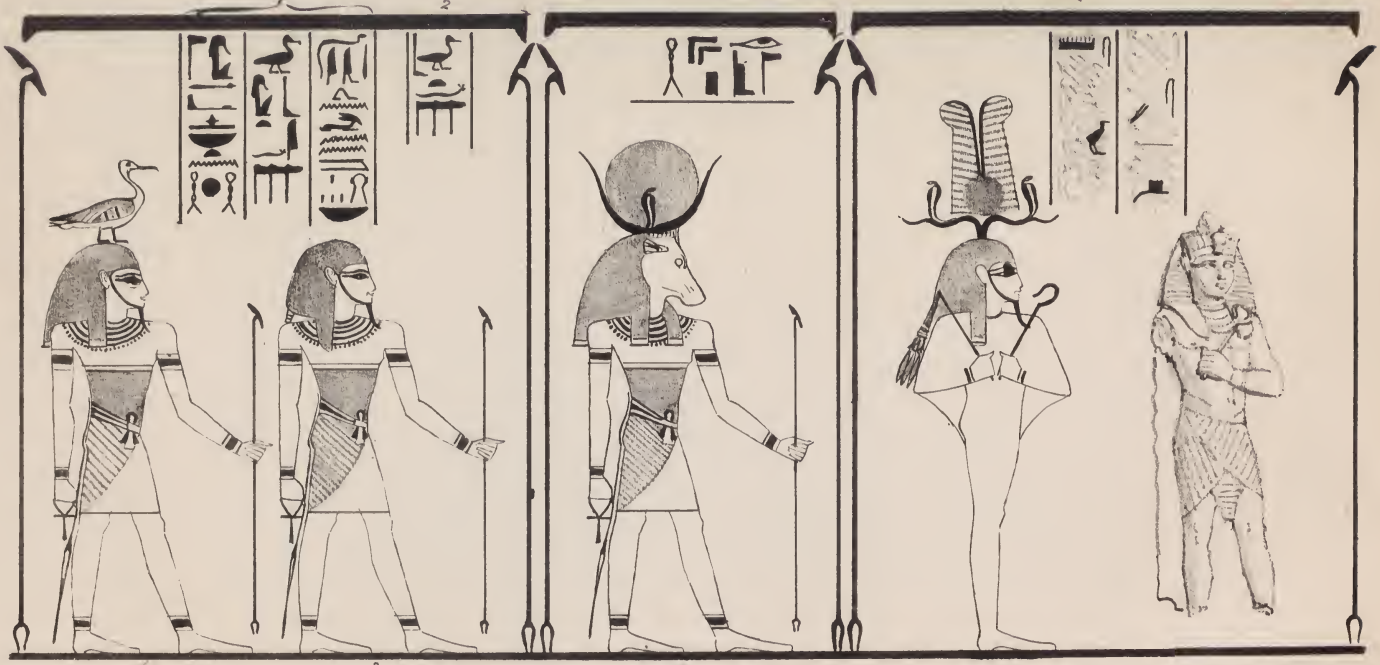
Seb, Sev, Saturn as Chronos.*

Seb, the father of Isis and Osiris, was supposed to be the same as Saturn, probably from his having the title "Father of the Gods." This, however, referred to his being the parent of the Deities above mentioned, and not to any resemblance he bore to the Sire of Jove; for the Saturn of Egypt "the father of Osiris," was said to be "the youngest of the Gods." Indeed, the character of Saturn differed essentially from that of the Egyptian Seb; and the rites of the former, when introduced by the Ptolemies, were looked upon by the Egyptians to be so much at variance with their religious notions, that his temple, like that of Sarapis, was not admitted† within the precincts of their cities; and it was not without compulsion that the worship of these two Deities was tolerated by the people.

Macrobius says, — "Through the tyranny of the Ptolemies they were obliged to receive those Gods into their worship, after the manner of the Alexandrians, by whom they were particularly adored;" the opposition made to their introduction being, as he thinks, in consequence of the novel custom of slaying victims in their honour. He states, that it was not lawful for the Egyptians to propitiate the Gods by sheep and blood, but with prayers and incense only; and Porphyry‡ expresses a similar opinion, when he says, "Those in earlier times,

* Chronos, or Time. *Vide infrà*, on Savak.
† Macrob. Saturn. i. 4.
‡ Porph. de Abstin. lib. ii.

SEB. OSIRIS-APIS. SARAPIS.



PART, 1. PART, 2. PART, 3.

who performed sacrifices, offered herbs, flowers, and trees, or incense of aromatic substances; for it was unlawful to slay animals."

"Among the offerings * made to the Egyptian Deities, libations and incense hold, it is true, a prominent place, as well as flowers, fruit, and other productions of the soil; but geese, and other birds, gazelles, capricorns, the legs and bodies of oxen or of the wild goat, and, what is still more remarkable, the head of the victim †, are also placed before them:" and thus the reason given by Macrobius is fully disproved. Herodotus also tells us that the oxen, after having been examined by a priest, and marked with his seal, were led to the altar and sacrificed; and this is fully confirmed by the sculptures in every part of Egypt.

I shall not here stop to inquire if really, in early times, the Egyptians or other ancient people contented themselves with offerings of herbs, incense, and libations, and abstained from sacrifices of victims. This, if it ever was the case, could only have been in their infancy as a nation; and it is more probable, as I have already observed ‡, that the kind of offering considered most acceptable to the Deity, which was "a firstling of the flock," had been established and handed down from the very earliest period, as a type of the destined perfect propitiation for sin, which man was taught to expect.

* Materia Hierog. p. 15.
† *Vide* my Materia Hierog. p. 16.; and *suprà*, Vol. II. p. 377.
‡ *Vide suprà*, p. 144. 146.

The story of the birth of the children of Saturn, mentioned by Plutarch*, abounds with contradictions. "Rhea," who is Netpe, "having had intercourse with Saturn by stealth, was discovered by the Sun, who thereupon denounced a curse upon her, 'that she should not be delivered in any month or year.' Mercury, however, being likewise in love with the same Goddess, in recompence for the favours which he had received from her, played at tables† with the Moon, and won from her the seventieth part of each of her illuminations. These several parts, making in the whole 5 new days, he afterwards joined together, and added to the 360, of which the year formerly consisted; which days, therefore, are even yet called by the Egyptians the *epact*, or superadded, and observed by them as the birthdays of their Gods. For upon the first of them, they say, was Osiris born, at whose entrance into the world, a voice was heard, saying, 'The lord of all the Earth is born.'" . . . . "Upon the second was Aroeris born, whom some call Apollo, and others distinguish by the name of the elder Horus. Upon the third, Typho came into the world; being born neither at the proper time, nor by the right place, but forcing his way through a wound which he had made in his mother's side. Isis was born upon the fourth, in the marshes of Egypt; as Nephthys upon the last, whom some call Teleute and Aphrodite, and others Niké. Now, as to the fathers of these

* Plut. de Is. s. 12.

† "Πεττια."

children, the two first of them (Osiris and Aroeris) are said to have been begotten by the Sun, Isis by Mercury, Typho* and Nephthys by Saturn; and accordingly the third of these superadded days, because it was looked upon as the birth-day of Typho, was regarded by the Kings as inauspicious, and consequently they neither transacted any business on it†, nor even suffered themselves to take any refreshment until the evening. They further add, that Typho married Nephthys; and that Isis having a fond affection for Osiris while they were yet together in their mother's womb, became pregnant by her brother, and from this commerce sprang Aroeris, whom the Egyptians likewise call the elder Horus, and the Greeks Apollo."

According to this account, Osiris was the son of Netpe (or Rhea), by the Sun; Isis, by Mercury: how, then, could they be twins? And "Saturn," we are told by Plutarch, "intrusted the care of the child Osiris to Paamyles;" which could not reasonably be expected, unless he were his own son. Were Plutarch our only guide, we might remain in uncertainty upon the subject; but fortunately the hieroglyphics solve the difficulty, and establish the claims of Seb (or Saturn) to the title of father of Osiris.

Seb is sometimes represented with a goose standing upon his head, which is the initial of his pho-

* The word Typho is to be preferred to Typhon.

† An unlucky day. Some persons are equally superstitious about unlucky days, even in these enlightened times.

netic name; and, in the hieroglyphics, he has the title "Father of the Gods." This alludes to his being the father of Osiris, and the other Deities born on the days of the Epact; and the frequent occurrence of the formula, which the Gods are made to utter, "I give you the years of Seb," appears to connect this Deity with Χρονος, or Time*, the Saturn of the Greeks, distinct as he was from the Saturn of Roman mythology. His dress, and that of Netpe, his consort, are remarkably simple.

Netpe, Netphe, Rhea.

"Netpe has frequently been mistaken for Neit, but the discovery of hieroglyphics calling Osiris the son of Netpe and Seb, leaves no room for further doubt upon the subject.† It is not altogether impossible, that Horapollo may have ascribed to Neith, what in reality belongs to the wife of Seb; since the firmament is her emblem, or, at least, indicates the last syllable‡ of her name." Another Goddess, with whom, from the similarity of name, she might possibly be confounded, is Nephthys; but the sister of Isis differs entirely from the Egyptian Rhea; and Tpe, the Goddess of the

* *Vide* Macrob. Sat. i. 5.

† Materia Hierog. p. 18.; and Plate 13. No. 7.

‡ Dr. Young was not wrong in stating, that syllables (or, at least, the initial letter for the whole syllable) were used occasionally in hieroglyphics, as *M* for *Mai*, the hare for *ouôn*, and others; independent of the omission of the intermediate vowels between consonants, as in Arabic and Hebrew.

heavens, enclosing the Zodiacs, is also distinct from her, as from Neith and Netpe."

"She is sometimes represented with a vase on her head, the initial of her name; and she frequently occurs in the paintings of the tombs, standing in the sycomore fig tree, pouring a liquid from a vase, which the deceased and his friends, and even the soul of the former under the form of a bird with a human head, are catching in their hands. Besides this nectar of heaven, she presents them with a basket of fruit from the sacred tree." It is to Netpe, and not to Athor, that the sycomore was dedicated; and "the number of instances I have met with of Netpe in this tree, leave no doubt of the fig, which gave the name of Hierosycaminon to a town of Nubia*, being sacred to the mother of Osiris." The representation of this tree at Hierosycaminon, is very rude, and of the late era of the Roman Empire: if, therefore, the Goddess seated beneath it has rather the character of Isis, or of Athor, than of Netpe, the authority of such a period is of little weight; and we have abundant proofs from the oldest monuments, that the sycomore was consecrated to Netpe, as the Persea to Athor.

The Athenians had a holy fig tree, which grew on the "sacred road," where, during the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, the procession which went from Athens to Eleusis halted. This was on the sixth day of the ceremony, called Iacchus, in

* Now Mabarraka, or Oofideéna.

honour of the son of Jupiter and Ceres, who accompanied his mother in her search for Proserpine; but the fig tree of Athens does not appear to have been borrowed from the sycomore of Egypt, unless it were in consequence of its connection with the mother of Isis and Osiris, whom they supposed to correspond to Ceres and Bacchus.

In one of the hieroglyphic legends* given in the Plate, Netpe appears to be identified with Lucina, and to preside over births and nursing. Indeed, it is probable that mothers looked to her for protection, being the fabled parent of their favourite Deities Isis and Osiris, from which she derived the title "Mother of the Gods." Of the Egyptian Lucina, worshipped at Eilethyas, I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Osiri, Osiris, Pluto, Bacchus.

"Osiris, in his mysterious character, was the greatest of all the Egyptian Deities; but little is known of those undivulged secrets, which the ancients took so much care to conceal. So cautious indeed, were the initiated†, that they made a scruple even of mentioning him;" and Herodotus, whenever he relates any thing concerning this Deity, excuses himself from uttering his name.

His principal office, as an Egyptian Deity, was to judge the dead, and to rule over that kingdom where the souls of good men were admitted

* Plate 32. Hierog. No. 2., from Dendera.
† Herodot. *passim*. Plut. de Is. s. 21. &c.

OSIRIS.

to eternal felicity.* Seated on his throne, accompanied by Isis and Nephthys, with the four Genii of Amenti, who stand on a lotus growing from the waters, in the centre of the divine abode, he receives the account of the actions of the deceased, recorded by Thoth. Horus, his son, introduces the deceased into his presence, bringing with him the tablet of Thoth, after his actions have been weighed in the scales of Truth. To Anubis, who is styled the "director of the weight," belongs this duty; and, assisted by Horus, he places in one scale the feather or the figure of Thmei, the Goddess of Truth, and in the other a vase emblematic of the virtuous actions of the judged. A Cynocephalus, the emblem of the Ibis-headed God, sits on the upper part of the balance; and Cerberus, the guardian of the palace of Osiris, is present. Sometimes also Harpocrates, the symbol of resuscitation and a new birth, is seated on a crook of Osiris, before the God of letters, — expressive of the idea entertained by the Egyptians and other philosophers†, that nothing created was ever annihilated; and that to cease to be, was only to assume another form, — dissolution being merely the passage to reproduction.

Some of the figures of the dead are represented wearing round their necks the same emblem which appears in the scales, after they have passed their ordeal, and are deemed worthy of admission into

* Conf. Plut. de Is. s. 79.

† *Vide suprà*, p. 218., "conclusion and renovation."

the presence of Osiris; the purport of which is, that they are justified by their works, weighed and not "found wanting." To men and to women also was given after death the name of Osiris*, — implying that, in a future state, the virtuous returned to the fountain of all good, from which they originally emanated; and that the soul, being separated from its material envelope, was pure and intellectual, divested of all the animal feelings which a distinction of sex might indicate, and free from those impurities or imperfections to which human nature was in this life subject.

They also considered the souls of men to be emanations of that divine soul, which governed and pervaded the Universe; each eventually returning to its divine origin, provided the virtuous course of life it had led in this world showed it to be sufficiently pure to unite with the immaculate nature of the Deity. It was their opinion, that those which had been guilty of sin were doomed to pass through the bodies of different animals, in order so to purify them that they might be rendered worthy again to mix with the parent Soul whence they emanated; the number and duration of these transmigrations, and the kind of animals through which they passed, depending on the extent of their impieties, and the consequent necessity of a greater or less degree of purification. This doctrine of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of the soul, was afterwards adopted by

* Conf. Plut. de Is. s. 28. *Vide* also *infrà*, p. 322.

Pythagoras, with many other opinions he acquired during his stay in Egypt. The idea of the return of the Spirit to the Deity seems also to have been admitted by the Jews, in the time of Solomon; since we find in Ecclesiastes*, "Then shall the dust return to the Earth as it was; and the Spirit shall return unto God who gave it."

The characters of Osiris were numerous†, as were those of Isis, who was thence called Myrionymus, or "with 10,000 names." He was that attribute of the Deity which signified the divine Goodness‡; and in his most mysterious and sacred office, as an *avatar*, or manifestation of the Divinity on earth, he was superior to any even of the eight great Gods. And though, as Herodotus informs us§, all the Egyptians did not worship the same Gods with equal reverence, the adoration paid to Osiris and Isis was universal, and he considers Isis the greatest of all the Divinities of Egypt.‖

Of the manner in which the Egyptians supposed this manifestation of the Deity in a human form to have taken place, I will not pretend to decide. This was always a profound secret, revealed only to some of those who were initiated into the higher order of mysteries. Suffice it to say, that Osiris was not believed by them to have been a human being, who after death was translated into the order of Demigods; for, as I have already observed, no

* Eccles. xii. 7.
† Hence confounded with other Deities. *Vide* Diodor. i. 25.
‡ *Vide suprà*, p. 189. 217. § Herodot. ii. 42.
‖ Herodot. ii. 40.

Egyptian Deity* was supposed to have lived on earth, and to have been deified after death, as with the Greeks and other people.

Pythagoras also borrowed from the Egyptians his notion respecting emanation. He held that the Deity was the soul which animated all nature, — the *anima mundi*, or soul of the universe, — not an external influence, but dwelling within it, as the soul of man within the human body; and from this universal soul all other Gods, as well as the souls of men and other animals, and even of plants, directly proceeded. Plutarch, indeed, attempts to show that the worship of animals in Egypt was borrowed from this idea†, when he says, "On the whole, we ought to approve the conduct of those who do not reverence these creatures for their own sakes, but who, looking upon them as the most lively and natural mirrors wherein to behold the divine perfections, and as the instruments and workmanship of the Deity, are led to pay their adoration to that God who orders and directs all things. Concluding, on the whole, that whatever is endued with soul and sensation is more excellent than that which is devoid of those perfections — even than all the gold and precious stones in the universe, though collected into one mass. For it is not in the brilliancy of colour, in the elegance of form, or in the beauty of surface, that the Divinity resides. So far from it, those things which never had life, and have not the power of

* *Vide suprà*, p. 167.
† *Vide infrà*, beginning of Ch. xiv., on the Sacred Animals.

living, are in a much lower degree of estimation than those that once enjoyed existence, though they may since have lost it. But whatever beings are endued with life, and the faculty of seeing, with a principle of voluntary motion in them, and are able to distinguish what belongs to and is proper for them; all these, as Heraclitus says, are to be regarded as the effluxes, or so many portions of that supreme wisdom which governs the universe; so that the Deity is not less strikingly represented in these, than in images of metal and stone made by the hand of man."

This doctrine is well described by Virgil, in the following beautiful lines*:—

"Principio cœlum, ac terras, camposque liquentes
Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque astra,
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.
Inde hominum pecudumque genus, vitæque volantum,
Et quæ marmoreo fert monstra sub æquore pontus.
Igneus est ollis vigor, et cœlestis origo
Seminibus. . . . . .
Quin et supremo cum lumine vita reliquit,
Non tamen omne malum miseris, nec funditus omnes
Corporeæ excedunt pestes; penitusque necesse est
Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.
Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt. . . . . .
Donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe
Concretam exemit labem, purumque reliquit
Æthereum sensum, atque auraï simplicis ignem.
Has omnes, ubi mille rotam volvere per annos,
Lethæum ad fluvium Deus evocat agmine magno:
Scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant,
Rursus et incipiant in corpora velle reverti."

The same is mentioned by Eusebius as the opinion expressed in the old Hermaïc books called

* Virg. Æn. vi. 724.

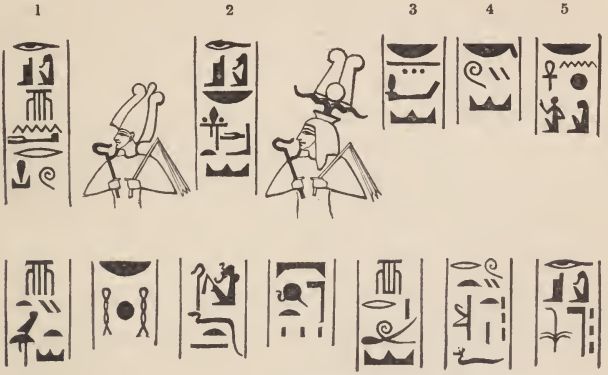
Genica*: "Have you not been informed by the Genica, that all individual souls are emanations from the one Soul of the Universe?" and Porphyry says, "The Egyptians perceived that the Divinity not only entered the human body, and that the (divine) soul dwelt not, while on earth, in man alone, but passed in a measure through all animals."

Osiris was called† the "manifester of good," or the "opener of truth," and said to be "full of goodness (grace) and truth." He appeared on earth to benefit mankind; and after having performed the duties he had come to fulfil, and fallen a sacrifice to Typho the evil principle, (which was at length overcome by his influence, after his leaving the world,) he "rose again to a new life‡," and became the judge of mankind in a future state. The dead also, after having passed their final ordeal and been absolved from sin, obtained in his name, which they then took, the blessings of eternal felicity. The title "*manifester of good*" accords well with what Plutarch§ says of Osiris, that he was a "*good* being, and sometimes styled Omphis (Onuphis), which signifies a benevolent and beneficent power;" the word Onuphis being evidently the Egyptian appellation of this God Ouôn-nofre, "*the opener of good.*"

This was his principal title. He was also frequently styled "President of the West," "Lord of Abydus," (which may either be *Ebôt* Abydus, or *Ebt* the East,) "Lord of the world," "Lord of

* *Vide* Prichard, p. 208.
† *Vide suprà*, p. 189.
‡ Plut. de Is. s. 35.
§ Plut. de Is. s. 42.

life," "the Eternal Ruler," and "King of the Gods." These, with many others, are commonly found in the hieroglyphic legends accompanying his figure, as may be seen in the annexed Wood-



No. 451. Some of the titles of Osiris. *Thebes.*

cut; and the papyri frequently present a list of 49 names of Osiris in the funeral rituals.

No. 452. Supposed figure of Osiris.

In the British Museum, is a strange figure, supposed by some of Osiris, which appears to have been intended for holding a papyrus; a purpose to which the small wooden statues of that God deposited in the tombs are often applied. But its form is unusual, and, until more is known of its date and use, we may scruple to admit it as a figure of Osiris. The hieroglyphics, it is true, painted on the pedestal that

supports it, are of early time, and present the name of "Osiris" on one side, and of "Osiris, Amun-re, Lord (of the thrones?) of the world, president of Thebes, Aroeris?" on the other; but it is evident that this did not belong originally to the statue, having been applied to it, probably by those who found it at Thebes, (like some more in this and other museums,) to increase its support, its beauty, or its value. There is therefore great uncertainty, both respecting its age, and the person it represents.

The custom of applying the name of Osiris both to men and women, who were supposed to partake sufficiently of the qualities of the good being to be worthy that honour, appears to have some connection with the Greek notion of Dionysus or Bacchus (who was thought to answer to Osiris) being both male and female.* It is also worthy of remark, that Servius, in commenting on the "mystica vannus Iacchi," of Virgil, affirms that "the sacred rites of Bacchus pertained to the purification of souls."

If Osiris was represented as one of the Gods of the third order†, (who, according to their extravagant calculation, lived 15,000 years before the reign of Amasis, and consequently later than Hercules, Pan, and other Deities of the second class,) we may suppose that this was intended to show that he visited the earth after the religion of Egypt had been long established; or that it was an idea intro-

* As in Aristides, p. 52. 8., and 52. 10.; and the Orphic poems, hymn 30., and 42. 4. *Vide suprà*, p. 316.

† Herodot. ii. 145.

duced into their religious system subsequently to the systematic arrangement of the other members of their Pantheon. The sculptures, however, of the oldest monuments abundantly prove that, if it were of more recent introduction, the change must have occurred at a very remote period, before the erection of any building now extant in Egypt; as the tombs in the vicinity of the Pyramids, belonging to individuals who were cotemporary with their founders, show that Osiris had at that time the same offices as in the age of the Ptolemies and Cæsars.

In an ancient inscription, this Deity is made to say, "Saturn, the youngest of all the Gods, was my father; I am Osiris:" and in another, "I am the eldest son of Saturn, of an illustrious branch, and of noble blood; cousin of the day; there is no place where I have not been, and I have liberally distributed my benefits to all mankind." But the character of Osiris given by Tibullus*, —

> "Primus aratra manu solerti fecit Osiris,
> Et tenerem ferro solicitavit humum;
> Primus inexpertis commisit semina terræ,
> Pomaque non notis legit ab arboribus,"—

as the teacher of agriculture, seems to refer to Khem rather than to the son of Seb; and the attributes of the Egyptian Pan have, in more than one instance, been given to Osiris. The notion, that the Gods imparted to men the arts of civilisation, was common to the Egyptians as to the Greeks. Ombte is represented teaching the

* Tibull. i. Eleg. 7.

Kings the use of the bow; Neph shows them the potter's art; and Thoth instructs them in the mode of catching birds with the net, in the art of writing, and in every thing connected with calculation, medicine, and astronomy. In all cases, however, it was an abstract idea representing the different means by which intellectual gifts were imparted from the Deity to man.

The Greeks identified Osiris with Bacchus *, in consequence of his reputed conquest of India, and some other analogies in the attributes or character of those two Deities. "The histories," says Plutarch †, "on which the most solemn feasts of Bacchus, the Titania and Nuktelia, are founded, exactly correspond with what we are told of the cutting to pieces of Osiris, of his rising again, and of his new life." He was also supposed to answer to Pluto ‡, from his office of ruler of Hades or Amenti; "a circumstance of which the priests," according to Plutarch §, "never speak but with the utmost caution and reserve. For the *erroneous acceptation of this truth* has given occasion to much disturbance, — the minds of the vulgar not being able to conceive how the most pure and truly holy Osiris should have his dwelling under the earth, amongst the bodies of those who appear to be dead. This God is, indeed, removed as far as possible from the earth, being free from all

* Plut. de Is. s. 37. 13. The ancient Bacchus of Greece was represented with a long beard; the youthful Bacchus, on Greek vases, dates after the time of Alexander.

† Plut. de Is. s. 35. ‡ Plut. de Is. et Osir. ss. 27, 28.

§ Plut. de Is. s. 79.

communication with such beings as are liable to corruption and death. As, therefore, the souls of men are not able to participate of the divine nature while encompassed with bodies and passions; so, when they are freed from these impediments, and remove into the pure unseen regions which are not discernible to our senses, it is then that this God becomes their leader and King, and they behold that beauty for which Isis has so great an affection."

"Osiris," says Diodorus *, "has been considered the same as Sarapis, Bacchus, Pluto, or Ammon. Others have thought him Jupiter, many Pan; and some look upon Sarapis as the same with the Greek Pluto." The historian also endeavours to identify him with the Sun, as Isis with the Moon; — an opinion maintained by other ancient writers; but which I have already † shown to be at variance with the authority of the monuments, and the well-known character of Osiris. Many fanciful notions have been derived from his fabled rule on earth; and comparisons have been made with Osiris and other Deities, which, as in the case of Isis, are mere speculations of a late time, totally at variance with the opinions of the Egyptians, — at least, of those who understood their religion and the nature of the Gods. Divested, then, of all the fancied connection with the Sun and the many Deities to whom Osiris is compared, we see in him the *goodness* of the Deity, which was supposed to have been manifested upon

* Diodor. i. 25.

† *Vide suprà*, p. 289.

earth for the benefit of mankind, and in a future state the *Judge* of the world.

There were other personages in the lower regions, according to the Greek mythology, whose names bear the stamp of an Egyptian origin *, though they cannot be themselves exactly traced amongst the Deities of Amenti. These are, Minos, Æacus, and Rhadamanthus, the judges of the dead ; in the first of which the Egyptian Min or Men is easily recognised, and in the last the name of Amenti itself.

Numerous explanations have been given of the mythological history of Osiris, many of which are the result of fancy, as those of Diodorus and Macrobius †, already mentioned. I have stated, that the principal character of Osiris was the goodness of the Deity, who was supposed to have visited the world ; but upon the story of his imaginary life on earth were engrafted numerous allegorical fables, and different interpretations were given to them, according to the circumstances to which his history appeared to be adapted.

The existence of Osiris on earth was, of course, a speculative theory, — an allegory, not altogether unlike the *avatars* of the Indian Vishnoo; and some may be disposed to think that the Egyptians, being aware of the promises of the real Saviour, had anticipated that event, recording it as though it had

* Plato, in the Gorgias, makes Jupiter say, that he "has made his sons judges: two from Asia, — Minos and Rhadamanthus ; and one from Europe:" and that "he will confer this additional dignity on Minos,— that he shall decide whatever may be inscrutable to the other judges." Taylor, Trans. vol. iv. p. 453.

† Macrob. Saturn. i. 21. *Vide suprà*, p. 290.

already happened, and introducing that mystery into their religious system.*

Of the mysteries and of the festivals in honour of Osiris, we can obtain little or no information from ancient authors. The former were too sacred to be divulged; and few of the Greeks and other strangers were admitted even into those of the lesser order. They were divided into the greater and less mysteries; and before admission into the former, it was necessary that the initiated should have passed through all the gradations of the latter. But, to merit this great honour, much was expected of the candidate, and many even of the priesthood were unable to obtain it. Besides the proofs of a virtuous life, other recommendations were required; and to be admitted to all the grades of the higher mysteries, was the greatest honour to which any one could aspire.

It was from these that the mysteries of Eleusis† were borrowed. For, though celebrated in honour of Osiris, they applied more immediately to Isis, and to the grief she felt for the loss of her consort, as the former recorded the lamentations of Ceres at the fate of her daughter. The Themophoria, in honour of the same Goddess, were also derived from Egypt.§

Herodotus mentions a ceremony on the Lake of Saïs, in which the history of Osiris was represented. They styled it the Mysteries. "Though," adds the historian‡, "I am well acquainted with them,

* *Suprà*, p. 200.
† *Vide* Diodor. i. 29.
‡ Herodot. ii. 171.
§ *Vide infrà*, Chap. xv.

I refrain from revealing any, as well as those relating to the institutions of Ceres, called by the Greeks Thesmophoria; and I shall only mention as much of them as my religion permits. The daughters of Danaüs brought them from Egypt, and taught them to the Pelasgic women; but at length, the Dorians having expelled the ancient inhabitants of Peloponnesus, these rites were lost, except amongst the Arcadians, who, not being driven out of the country, continued to preserve them."

"At Saïs," says the same author, "they show the sepulchre of him whom I do not think it right to mention on this occasion: it is in the sacred inclosure, behind the temple of Minerva, and close to the wall of this temple, whose whole length it occupies." "They also meet at Saïs to offer sacrifice * during a certain night, when every one lights in the open air a number of lamps around his house. The lamps consist of small cups filled with salt and oil, having a wick floating in it which burns all night. This fête is called of the burning lamps. The Egyptians who are unable to attend, also observe the sacrifice and burn lamps at home; so that not only at Saïs, but throughout Egypt, the same illumination takes place. They assign a sacred reason for the fête celebrated on this night, and the respect they have for it."

Of the ceremonies during the fête of Busiris, I shall speak in describing the Goddess Isis. It was held in honour of her and of Osiris; Busiris, like Philæ, Abydus, Memphis, Taposiris, and other

* Herodot. ii. 62.

places, claiming the honour of being the supposed burial place* of this mysterious Deity.

Having noticed the metaphysical character of Osiris, I proceed to examine some of the allegories founded upon his fabulous history; though, as already stated †, I believe them to be for the most part mere fanciful speculations, forming no part of their religious belief, but rather designed to amuse the ignorant and satisfy the people with a plausible story; while the real purport of all connected with the Deity was reserved for those alone who were admitted to a participation of the mysteries.

Of these, the principal one is that in which he is compared to the Nile, and Isis to the land of Egypt. "By Osiris," says Plutarch ‡, "they mean the Nile; by Isis, that part of the country which Osiris or the Nile overflows; and by Typho, the sea, which, by receiving the Nile as it runs into it, does as it were tear it into many pieces, and entirely destroy it, excepting only so much of it as is admitted into the bosom of the earth in its passage over it, which is thereby rendered fertile." And the notion of Osiris being born on the right side of the world, and perishing on the left, is explained "by the rising of the Nile in the South country, which is the left, and running northwards till it is swallowed up by the sea."

The story of the supposed life of Osiris is briefly as follows.§ "Osiris, having become King of Egypt, applied himself towards civilising his

* Plut. de Is. s. 21.
† *Vide suprà*, p. 290.; and *infrà*, on Isis; and Chap. xv., on the Fêtes.
‡ Plut. de Is. s. 32. § Plut. de Is. s. 13.

countrymen, by turning them from their former barbarous course of life, teaching them moreover to cultivate and improve the fruits of the earth. . . . With the same good disposition, he afterwards travelled over the rest of the world, inducing the people every where to submit to his discipline, by the mildest persuasion. . . . During his absence from his kingdom, Typho had no opportunity of making any innovations in the state, Isis being extremely vigilant in the government, and always on her guard. After his return, however, having first persuaded seventy-two other persons to join with him in the conspiracy, together with a certain Queen of Ethiopia named Aso, who chanced to be in Egypt at the time, he contrived a proper stratagem to execute his base designs. For, having privily taken the measure of Osiris's body, he caused a chest to be made exactly of that size, as beautiful as possible, and set off with all the ornaments of art. This chest he brought into the banqueting room, where after it had been much admired by all present, Typho, as if in jest, promised to give it to any one of them, whose body upon trial it might be found to fit. Upon this, the whole company, one after the other, got into it; but as it did not fit any of them, last of all Osiris laid himself down in it; upon which the conspirators immediately ran together, clapped on the cover, and then, fastening it on the outside with nails, poured melted lead over it.

"After this, having carried it away to the river side, they conveyed it to the sea by the Tanaïtic mouth of the Nile, which for this reason is still

held in the utmost abhorrence by the Egyptians, and never named by them but with proper marks of detestation.

"These things happened on the 17th day of the month Athyr, when the Sun was in Scorpio, in the 28th year of Osiris's reign; though others say he was no more than 28 years old at the time.

"The first who knew the accident, that had befallen their King, were the Pans and Satyrs who lived about Chemmis; and they, immediately acquainting the people with the news, gave the first occasion to the name of *Panic terrors*. . . . Isis, as soon as the report reached her, cut off one of the locks of her hair, and put on mourning; whence the spot where she then happened to be has ever since been called Koptos, or the city of mourning.* And being informed that Osiris, deceived by her sister Nephthys, who was in love with him, had unwittingly taken her to his embraces instead of herself, as she concluded from the Mellilot garland, which he had left with her, she proceeded to search out the child, the fruit of their unlawful union. For her sister, dreading the anger of her husband Typho, had exposed it as soon as it was born; and it was not without great difficulty, that by means of some dogs, she discovered the place of its concealment. Having found it, she bred it up; and it afterwards obtained the name of Anubis." †

* It is needless to remark, that a Greek origin for this name is as inadmissible as the derivation of Isis from ειστς, knowledge, also given by Plutarch, s. 2.

† Like other Greek and Roman writers, Plutarch commits the error of giving Anubis a dog's head.

"At length she received more particular news of the chest. It had been carried by the waves of the sea to the coast of Byblos, and there gently lodged in the branches of a Tamarisk bush, which in a short time had shot up into a large tree, growing round the chest, and enclosing it on every side, so that it could not be seen; and the King of the country, having cut down the tree, had made the part of the trunk wherein the chest was concealed, a pillar to support the roof of his house.... Isis, having gone to Byblos, obtained possession of this pillar, and then set sail with the chest for Egypt.... But intending a visit to her son Horus (Orus), who was brought up at Butus, she deposited the chest in the mean time in a remote and unfrequented place. Typho, however, as he was one night hunting by the light of the Moon, accidentally met with it, and knowing the body enclosed in it, tore it into fourteen pieces, disposing them up and down in different parts of the country.

"Being acquainted with this event, Isis set out once more* in search of the scattered members of her husband's body, using a boat made of the papyrus rush, in order more easily to pass through the lower and fenny parts of the country.... And one reason assigned for the many different sepulchres of Osiris shown in Egypt, is, that wherever any one of his scattered limbs was discovered, she buried it in that spot; though others suppose that it was owing to an artifice of the Queen, who presented each of those cities with an image of her

* Plut. de Is. s. 18.

husband, in order that, if Typho should overcome Horus in the approaching conquest, he might be unable to find the real sepulchre. Isis succeeded in recovering all the different members, with the exception of one, which had been devoured by the Lepidotus, the Phagrus, and the Oxyrhinchus; for which reason these fish are held in abhorrence by the Egyptians. To make amends, therefore, for this loss, she consecrated the Phallus, and instituted a solemn festival to its memory."

"A battle at length took place between Horus and Typho, in which the latter was taken prisoner. Isis, however, to whose custody he was committed, so far from putting him to death, set him at liberty; which so incensed Horus, that he tore off the royal diadem she wore; but Hermes substituted in its stead a helmet made in the shape of an ox's head. After this, Typho publicly accused Horus of illegitimacy; but, with the assistance of Hermes, the question was set at rest by the judgment of the Gods themselves; and at length two other battles were fought, in which Typho was defeated.

"It is also related, that Isis had intercourse with Osiris after his death, and, in consequence, brought forth Harpocrates, who came into the world before his time, and lame in his lower limbs."

Proceeding with the examination of the different parts of this allegorical fable, Plutarch observes*, that, "Osiris being the inundation of the Nile, and Isis the land irrigated by it," from the conjunction of these two, Horus was born, meaning thereby,

* Plut. de Is. s. 38.

that just and seasonable temperature of the circumambient air, which preserves and nourishes all things. Horus is, moreover, supposed to have been brought up by Latona, in the marshy country about Butus, because a moist and watery soil is best adapted to produce those vapours and exhalations which serve to relax the excessive drought arising from heat. In like manner, they call the extreme limits of their country, their confines, and sea shores, Nephthys (Teleute, or the end), whom they suppose to have been married to Typho. Now, as the overflowings of the Nile are sometimes very great, and extend to the boundaries of the land, this gave rise to the story of the secret intercourse between Osiris and Nephthys, as the natural consequence of so great an inundation would be the springing up of plants in those parts of the country, which were formerly barren. Hence they imagine that Typho was first made acquainted with the infidelity of his wife, by the Mellilot garland which fell from the head of Osiris while in her company; and that the legitimacy of Horus, the son of Isis, may thus be explained, as well as the illegitimacy of Anubis, who was born of Nephthys.

"Furthermore, by the conspiracy of Typho and his tyranny, are to be understood the force and power of drought, which overcome the moisture whence the increase of the Nile proceeds. His being assisted by the Queen of Ethiopia refers to the southern winds, blowing from that country; which, when strong enough to prevail against the

Etesian or annual northern ones, that carry the clouds towards Ethiopia, prevent those showers of rain from falling, and contributing to the increase of the Nile. . . . As to the shutting up of Osiris in a chest, this signifies the withdrawing of the Nile within its own banks, when the Etesian winds have ceased, which happens in the month Athyr.

" About this time, in consequence of the increasing length of the nights, the power of darkness appearing to prevail, whilst that of light is diminished, the priests practise doleful rites, in token of the grief of the Goddess. One of these is to expose to public view a gilded ox, covered with a pall of fine black linen; this animal being regarded as the living image of Osiris. The ceremony lasts four days, beginning on the 17th of the month, and is intended to represent four things: — 1st, The falling of the Nile, and its return within its own channel: 2dly, The ceasing of the north winds: 3dly, The length of the nights and decrease of the days; and, lastly, The destitute condition in which the land then appears. Thus they commemorate what they call the loss of Osiris. But upon the 19th of the month Pachon, they march in procession towards the sea, whither the *stolistæ* and priests carry the sacred chest, containing a vessel of gold, into which they pour some river water, and all present exclaim, 'Osiris is found.' Then throwing fresh mould into the water, and mixing with it aromatics and precious incense, they make an image in the form of a crescent, which

is dressed up and adorned, to show that these Gods are the powers of earth and water.*

"Isis having recovered the body of Osiris, and brought her son Horus to maturity, (whose strength, by means of exhalations and clouds, was continually increasing,) Typho was in his turn conquered, though not totally destroyed. For the Goddess, who is the Earth, in order to maintain a proper temperament of heat and cold, would not permit this enemy of moisture to be quite extinguished, but loosed his bonds and set him at liberty, well knowing that it was impossible for the world to subsist in perfection, if the force of heat was totally extinguished."

To sum up the details of this story according to the foregoing interpretation, we may apply to each its distinct meaning, as follows: —

Osiris, the inundation of the Nile.

Isis, the irrigated portion of the land of Egypt.

Horus, their offspring, the vapours and exhalations reproducing rain.

Buto (Latona), the marshy lands of Lower Egypt, where those vapours were nourished.

Nephthys, the edge of the desert, occasionally overflowed during the high inundations.

Anubis, the son of Osiris and Nephthys, the production of that barren soil, in consequence of its being overflowed by the Nile.

* Conf. Clem. Recogn. lib. x. 27., "Osiri aquam, Hammoni arietem;" Origen. V. in Celsum, p. 65., "Osiris water, and Isis earth;" or the Nile, according to Heliodorus, lib. ix.; and Clem. Homil. vi. 9., "aquam terrâ inferiorem. . . . Osirin nuncupârunt."

Typho, the sea, which swallowed up the Nile water.

The conspirators, the drought overcoming the moisture, from which the increase of the Nile proceeds.

The chest in which Osiris's body was confined, the banks of the river, within which it retired after the inundation.

The Tanaïtic mouth, the lake and barren lands about it, which were held in abhorrence from their being overflowed by the river without producing any benefit to the country.

The 28 years of his life, the "28 cubits to which the Nile rises at Elephantina*, its greatest height."

The 17th of Athor, the period when the river retires within its banks.

The Queen of Æthiopia, the southern winds preventing the clouds being carried southwards.

The different members of Osiris's body, the main channels and canals by which the inundation passed into the interior of the country, where each was said to be afterwards buried. That one which could not be recovered was the generative power of the Nile, which still continued in the stream itself; or, as Plutarch thinks, it was said to have been thrown into the river, because "water or moisture was the first matter upon which the generative power of the Deity operated, and

* Plut. de Is. s. 43.

that principle by means of which all things capable of being were produced."

The victory of Horus, the power possessed by the clouds in causing the successive inundations of the Nile.

Harpocrates, whom Isis brought forth about the winter solstice, those weak shootings of the corn produced after the inundation had subsided. *

According to another interpretation †, "by Typho is meant the orb of the Sun, and by Osiris that of the Moon; the former being of a scorching, the latter of a moistening and prolific, nature. When, therefore, they say that Osiris's death happened on the 17th day of the month, it means that the moon is then at its full, and from that time is continually on the wane. In like manner, Osiris is said to have lived or reigned 28 years, alluding to the number of days in which she performs her course round the earth. As to his being torn into fourteen pieces, this is supposed to mark out the number of days in which the Moon is continually decreasing from the full to its change; and by the war between Typho and Horus is meant, that in this terrestrial system, sometimes the principle of corruption prevails, and sometimes that of generation, though neither of them is ever able entirely to conquer or destroy the other."

For other explanations of this history, I refer the reader to Plutarch's treatise of Isis and Osiris; who very properly observes, that we are not to suppose the adventures there related to be "really

* Plut. de Is. s. 65. † Plut. de Is. s. 41.

true, or ever to have happened in fact."* He treats it, as it really was, in the light of a metaphysical question; for, he adds, he alone is competent to understand it, "who searches into the hidden truths it contains, and examines the whole by the dictates of reason and philosophy."† "And taking a proper view of these matters, we must neither look upon water, nor the Sun, nor the earth, nor the heavens, simply as Osiris and Isis; nor must we by Typho understand either fire, or drought, or the sea; but, in general, whatever in these bodies is irregular and disorderly, or whatever is bad, is to be attributed to Typho; as, on the contrary, whatever is good and salutary is the operation of Isis and the image of Osiris."‡

Many, however, were disposed to clothe with reality all the emblematic characters of Osiris, looking upon abstract ideas or allegories as positive facts. With this view, they deemed him the Deity of humidity, instead of the abstract quality or benefit arising from it; and hence "the votaries of Osiris abstained from destroying a fruit tree, or marring any springs of water."§ A similar notion also induced them "to carry a water jar at the head of the sacred processions in honour of this God."‖

In the fabulous history of Osiris, we may trace a notion, common to all nations, of a God, who in the early ages of their history¶ lived on earth, and

* Plut. de Is. s. 11. 20.
† Plut. de Is. s. 3.
‡ Plut. de Is. s. 64.
§ Plut. de Is. s. 35.
‖ Plut. de Is. s. 36.
¶ The Bisharee tribe of Arabs still speak of their founder Bega, who was their first parent, as well as God.

was their King, their instructor, and even the father of their race; who taught them the secrets of husbandry, the arts of civilisation, and the advantages of social intercourse; and who, extending his dominion over the whole world, permitted all mankind to partake of his beneficent influence. They represent him to have been assailed by the malignant attacks of some monster, or enemy of man, either as an evil principle, or the type of a destructive power. He is sometimes exposed to the waters of the sea, (an evident allusion to the great deluge,) from which he is saved, by taking refuge in a cavern, or by means of a floating island, a lotus, or a snake, which bears him safely to the summit of a mountain. He is frequently aided by the interposition of some female companion, who is his sister, his daughter, or his wife, and the mother, as he is the father, of the human race, which springs from their three sons; like the family of Adam, repeated in that of Noah. But though we observe some analogy between these and the history of Osiris, it is only in particular points that any positive resemblance can be admitted: the office of Osiris was of a more important character than that usually assigned to the hero God and parent of man; as the notion of a Trinity was of a more exalted nature than that given to the material work of its hands, — the three sons of Noah and his prototype.

Osiris is frequently represented of a black colour, as Plutarch observes *, but more usually green;

* Plut. de Is. s. 33.

and when Judge of Amenti, he has the form of a mummied figure, holding in his crossed hands the crook and flagellum. He is clad in pure white, and wears on his head the cap of Upper Egypt decked with ostrich feathers; which head-dress, if not exclusively, at least peculiarly, belongs to this Deity.* In the sculptures, a spotted skin is sometimes suspended near him,—an emblem supposed to connect him with the Greek Bacchus†; and occasionally assuming the character of "stability," he appears with his head and even face covered with the four-barred symbol‡, which in hieroglyphics has that signification, and which may also refer to the intellect of the Deity.

In former times, the four-barred symbol of stability was mistaken for a "Nilometer," as the sign of life (or *crux ansata*) was compelled to submit to the unintelligible name of "Key of the Nile. So far, however, is the latter from any connection with the river, that it is less frequently seen in the hand of the God Nilus than any Deity of the Egyptian Pantheon; and the former never occurs among the numerous emblems or offerings he bears. It is represented as a sort of stand or support in workmen's shops, where, for the sake of the goods they wished to sell, we may charitably hope it required no graduated Nilometer to measure the height of the intrusive inundation.

* *Vide* Plate 33. fig. 3.

† *Vide* Diodor. i. 11. The skin is usually represented without the head; but some instances where this is introduced show it to be the leopard or panther; which, as well as the nebris, belonged to Bacchus.

‡ *Vide* Plate 33. fig. 5.; and *suprà*, p. 253.

Osiris also takes the character of the God Benno, with the head of a crane, peculiarised by a tuft of two long feathers; and he sometimes appears as a human figure, with a simple cap surmounted by two ostrich plumes.* The statement of Plutarch†, that the dress of Osiris was of one uniform shining colour, is confirmed by the paintings, which generally represent him clad in white. Isis was dressed in robes of various hues, because, according to the same writer, "her power was wholly conversant about *matter*, which becomes all things and admits all, light and darkness, day and night, fire and water, life and death, beginning and end." Osiris also appears, when in the character of Sokari-Osiris, with the head of a hawk.‡ Under that title he has some connection § with Pthah; and it is then that he is considered to have risen from the dead after his visit to the world.‖

The Phallic ceremonies, said to have been performed in honour of Osiris, appear rather to have belonged to the generative principle ¶ of the Deity worshipped under the name of Khem; though Plutarch and other writers assert that they derived their origin from the search made by Isis for the scattered members of her husband.** Plutarch, in another place, says††, the festival of the Paamylia, which bears a great resemblance to the Phallephoria of Greece, was kept in honour of the birth of

* Plate 33. figs. 5. and 1.
† Plut. de Is. s. 78.
‡ Conf. Plut. de Is. s. 51.
§ *Vide infrà*, on Isis, ad fin. note.
‖ *Vide suprà*, p. 255.
¶ *Vide infrà*, on the Ceremonies, Chap. xv.
** Plut. de Is. s. 18.
†† Plut. de Is. s. 12.

Osiris, and so called from Paamyles, to whom the education of Osiris had been intrusted by his father Saturn. "From the manner of celebrating it," he adds*, "it is evident that Osiris is, in reality, the great principle of fecundity. They therefore carry about in procession and expose to public view a statue of this God with the triple phallus, signifying that he is the first principle, and that every such principle, by means of its generative faculty, multiplies what proceeds from, or is produced by, it. The phallus being threefold merely implies a great or indefinite number;" or it probably refers to the action of that principle upon matter, which was represented by the number *three*.

It is probably the same to which Herodotus alludes †, as a fête of Bacchus.‡ "On that occasion, every one killed a pig before his door, at the hour of dinner; and then restored it to the person of whom it had been purchased. The Egyptians," he adds, "celebrate the rest of this festival nearly in the same manner as the Greeks, excepting the sacrifice of pigs; but, in lieu of phalli, they make little puppets about a cubit high, which women carry about the towns and villages, and set in motion by means of a string. They are accompanied by a chorus, with a flute-player§ at their head, singing the praises of the Deity." The historian then describes the appearance of these phallic figures, which he ascribes to a sacred reason; and it

* Plut. de Is. s. 36.
† Herodot. ii. 48.
‡ *Vide* also, Plut. de Is. s. 8.
§ *Vide* Chap. xv., on the Ceremonies.

is a curious fact that similar puppets are made by the Egyptians on the occasions of public rejoicing at the present day.

The name of Osiris is frequently enclosed in an oval like those of the Kings; but the hieroglyphics forming the name itself generally precede it, and within is the title, "manifester of goodness and truth." His usual appellation is "Osiris, president of Amenti," or "Lord of Abydus;" and I have found an instance of his being styled "King of the Gods." He was the first member of the triad composed of Osiris, Isis, and Horus; his worship was universal throughout Egypt; and every city assigned to him a conspicuous post among the contemplar Gods it worshipped.

Each town had its protecting Deity, who presided over it; and the post of honour in the Adytum, as in the most conspicuous parts of the temple erected in his honour, was assigned to him. The peculiar triad of the place also held a prominent station in the sculptures; and to the contemplar Gods was assigned a post according to the consideration they there enjoyed. But the Deities worshipped in the towns of one *nome*, or province of Egypt, did not always receive the same honours in another; and it frequently happened that, though acknowledged to be Deities of their country, and treated with every mark of respect, many of them were omitted in the list of contemplar Gods. This must necessarily have happened in small temples, which could only admit a portion of the Egyptian Pantheon, especially as the tutelary Deity of the

place alone occupied many and the choicest places. But few temples, if any, denied a post to Isis and Osiris, "the greatest of all the Gods."* "For," says Herodotus, "the Egyptians do not give equal honours to all their Gods, and the only two to whom the same worship is universally paid are Isis and Osiris."† With regard to the sacred animals, they were looked upon with feelings so different in various parts of the country, that those worshipped in one town were often held in abhorrence in another; as is shown by the civil war between the Oxyrhinchites and the people of Cynopolis, mentioned by Plutarch‡, and by a similar contest related in Juvenal§ between the people of Ombos and Tentyris. But, as I have elsewhere observed‖, though the objects of their worship varied, it is not probable that such excesses were committed in early times, during the rule of their native Princes.

Philæ and Abydus were the two places where Osiris was particularly worshipped; and so sacred was the former, that no one was permitted to visit that holy island without express permission; and in the temple which still remains there, his mysterious history is recorded in the manner already mentioned.¶ Besides the celebration of the great mysteries, which took place at Philæ (as at Saïs and Busiris), a grand ceremony was performed at a particular time, when the priests in solemn procession visited his tomb and crowned it with flowers.**

* Herodot. ii. 40.
† Herodot. ii. 42.
‡ Plut. de Is. s. 72.
§ Juv. Sat. xv. 36.
‖ Beginning of Chap. xiv.
¶ *Vide suprà*, p. 189. 255.
** Plut. de Is. s. 21.

Plutarch even pretends that all access to the island was forbidden at every other period, and that no bird would fly over, or fish swim near, this consecrated ground. "The sepulchre of Osiris at Philæ," says Diodorus *, "is revered by all the priests throughout Egypt; and 360 cups are filled daily with milk † by priests expressly appointed for this purpose, who, calling on the names of the Gods, utter a solemn lamentation; wherefore the island can only be approached by the priests; and the most solemn oath taken by the inhabitants of the Thebaïd is to swear by Osiris, who lies buried at Philæ."

The temple of this Deity at Abydus was also particularly honoured; and so holy was the place itself considered by the Egyptians, that persons living at some distance from it sought, and perhaps with difficulty obtained, permission to possess a sepulchre within its Necropolis; in order that, after death, they might repose in ground hallowed by the tomb of this great and mysterious Deity. This fact is noticed by Plutarch ‡, and confirmed by the discovery of inscriptions there, which state the deceased were natives of Thebes and other places.

I have observed § that Memphis, Busiris, Taposiris, and other towns also claimed the honour of being the burial places of Osiris; and the reason that Apis, "which they looked upon as the image of the Soul of Osiris, was kept at Memphis, seems to have been in order to place it as near his body as

* Diodor. i. 22.
† Milk was used in early times for libations, as by Romulus.
‡ Plut. de Is. s. 20. § *Suprà*, p. 328.

possible." * Indeed, the name of that city, which signifies the "place of good," appears to refer to, and perhaps to have been called from, Osiris, who was the "*Goodness*" of the Deity; and from its being his reputed burial place, and the abode of his representative on earth, the bull Apis, we may find reason to prefer this explanation to that given by Plutarch †, who considers Memphis to mean the "haven of good men." The name of Busiris implies ‡, as Diodorus observes §, the burial place of Osiris; and the same interpretation is given to Taposiris, though the word is not Egyptian as the former, but Greek; as are most of the names of towns mentioned by ancient writers.

Hapi, Apis, Apis-Osiris.

Osiris was also worshipped under the form of Apis, the Sacred Bull of Memphis, or as a human figure with a bull's head, accompanied by the name "Apis-Osiris." According to Plutarch ||, "Apis was a fair and beautiful image of the Soul of Osiris;" and the same author ¶ tells us that "Mnevis, the Sacred Ox of Heliopolis, was also dedicated to Osiris, and honoured by the Egyptians with a reverence next to that paid to Apis, whose sire some pretend him to be." This agrees with the statement of Diodorus, who says, Apis

* Plut. de Is. s. 20. † Plut. de Is. s. 21.
‡ There were more than one place in Egypt of this name. Diodor. i. 17.; and Plin. v. 10., and xxxvi. 12.
§ Diodor. i. 88. || Plut. de Is. ss. 29. and 20.
¶ Plut. de Is. s. 33.

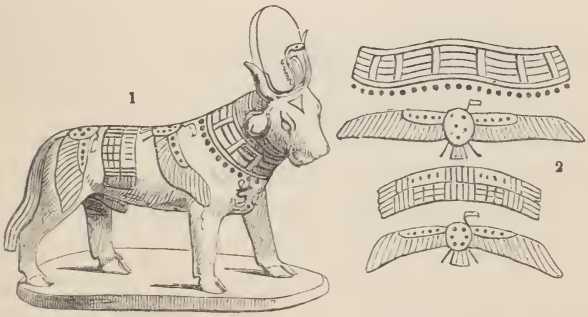
and Mnevis were both sacred to Osiris, and worshipped as Gods throughout the whole of Egypt*; and Plutarch suggests that, from these well-known representations of Osiris, the people of Elis and Argos derived the idea of Bacchus with an ox's head; Bacchus being reputed to be the same as Osiris. Herodotus†, in describing him, says, "Apis, also called Epaphus, is a young bull, whose mother can have no other offspring, and who is reported by the Egyptians to conceive from lightning sent from heaven, and thus to produce the God Apis. He is known by certain marks: his hair is black; on his forehead is a white triangular spot, on his back an eagle, and a beetle under his tongue, and the hair of his tail is double." Ovid speaks of him as "*varius coloribus Apis*." Strabo describes him with the forehead and some parts of his body of a white colour, the rest being black, by which signs they fix upon a new one to succeed the other when he dies." Plutarch‡ observes, that, "on account of the great resemblance they imagine beween Osiris and the Moon, his more bright and shining parts being shadowed and obscured by those that are of a darker hue, they call the Apis the living image of Osiris, and suppose him begotten by a ray of generative light, flowing from the Moon, and fixing upon his dam at a time when she was strongly disposed for generation."

Pliny§ speaks of Apis "having a white spot in the form of a crescent upon his right side, and a

* Diodor. i. 21.
† Herodot. iii. 28.
‡ Plut. de Is. s. 43.
§ Plin. viii. 46.

lump under his tongue in the form of a beetle." Ammianus Marcellinus * says the white crescent on his right side was the principal sign by which he was known : and Ælian mentions 29 marks by which he was recognised, each referable to some mystic signification. But he pretends that the Egyptians did not allow those given by Herodotus and Aristagoras. Some suppose him entirely black, and others contend that certain marks, as the predominating black colour, and the beetle on his tongue, show him to be consecrated to the Sun, as the crescent to the Moon. Ammianus and others say that "Apis was sacred to the Moon, Mnevis to the Sun;" and most authors seem to describe the latter of a black colour.

With regard to the accuracy or inaccuracy of Herodotus respecting the peculiar marks of Apis,



No. 453. *In the possession of Miss Rogers.*

1. Bronze figure of Apis.
2. The marks on his back.

it is difficult to determine. There is, however, evidence from the bronzes discovered in Egypt,

* Amm. Marc. xxii. 14.

that the Vulture (not Eagle) on his back was one of his characteristics, supplied, no doubt, like many others, by the priests themselves.

To Apis belonged all the clean oxen *, chosen for sacrifice; the necessary requisite for which, according to Herodotus, was, that they should be entirely free from black spots, or even a single black hair; though, as I shall have occasion to remark in treating of the Sacrifices, this statement of the historian is far from accurate. It may also be doubted if the name Epaphus†, by which he says Apis was called by the Greeks in their language, was of Greek origin.

He is called in the hieroglyphic legends Hapi; and the bull, the demonstrative and figurative sign following his name, is accompanied by the *crux ansata*, or emblem of life. It has seldom any or-

No. 454. Hieroglyphical name of Apis.

nament on its head; but the figure of Apis-(or Hapi-)Osiris generally wears the globe of the Sun, and the Asp, the symbol of divine Majesty; which are also given to the bronze figures of this bull.

Memphis was the place where Apis was kept, and where his worship was particularly observed. He was not merely looked upon as an emblem, but, as Pliny and Cicero say, was deemed "a God

* Herodot. ii. 38.
† Herodot. ii. 28. 153., and iii. 27.

by the Egyptians *:" and Strabo † calls "Apis the same as Osiris." Psammaticus ‡ there erected a grand court, ornamented with figures in lieu of columns 12 cubits in height, forming a peristyle around it, in which he was kept when exhibited in public. Attached to it were probably the two stables, "delubra," or "thalami," mentioned by Pliny §: and Strabo says, "Before the enclosure where Apis is kept, is a vestibule, in which also the mother of the Sacred Bull is fed; and into this vestibule Apis is sometimes introduced, in order to be shown to strangers. After being brought out for a little while, he is again taken back. At other times he is only seen through a window." "The temple of Apis is close to that of Vulcan; which last is remarkable for its architectural beauty, its extent, and the richness of its decoration."

The festival in honour of Apis lasted seven days; on which occasion a large concourse of people assembled at Memphis. The priests then led the Sacred Bull in solemn procession, every one coming forward from their houses to welcome him as he passed; and Pliny and Solinus affirm that children who smelt his breath were thought to be thereby gifted with the power of predicting future events.

Diodorus || derives the worship of Apis from the

* "Quid igitur censes? Apin, illum sanctum Ægyptiorum bovem, nonne Deum videri Ægyptiis?" Cicero, de Nat. Deor. 1. Plin. viii. 46.

† Strabo, xvii. p. 555. When Ælian says, "they compare Apis to *Horus*, being the cause of fertility," he evidently means *Osiris*. Æl. xi. 10.

‡ Herodot. ii. 153.

§ Plin. lib. viii. 46.

|| Diodor. i. 85.

belief of "the soul of Osiris having migrated into this animal, who was thus supposed to manifest himself to man through successive ages; though some report that the members of Osiris when killed by Typho having been deposited in a wooden ox, enveloped in byssine cloths, gave the name to the city of Busiris, and established its worship there."

When the Apis died *, certain priests chosen for this duty went in quest of another, who was known from the signs mentioned in the sacred books. As soon as he was found, they took him to the City of the Nile preparatory to his removal to Memphis, where he was kept 40 days; during which period women † alone were permitted to see him. These 40 days being completed, he was placed in a boat, with a golden cabin, prepared to receive him, and he was conducted in state down the Nile to Memphis.

Pliny and Ammianus, however, affirm that they led the bull Apis to the fountain of the priests, and drowned him with much ceremony, as soon as the time prescribed in the sacred books was fulfilled. This Plutarch states to be 25 years, (the square of 5, and the same number as the letters of the Egyptian Alphabet,) beyond which it was forbidden that he should live; and having thus put him to death, they, with great lamentations, sought another to take his place. His body was embalmed, and a grand funeral procession took place at Memphis,

* Plut. de Is. s. 56.

† The rest of the statement, which at most could only be hearsay, is improbable; unless, perhaps, in Roman times.

when his coffin, "placed on a sledge *, was followed by the priests," "dressed in the spotted skins of fawns, bearing the thyrsus in their hands, uttering the same cries, and making the same gesticulations as the votaries of Bacchus during the ceremonies in honour of that God."

This resemblance, however, to the Bacchic rites will cease to be as striking as Plutarch supposes, when we observe that the spotted skins were merely the leopard-skin dress worn by the Pontiffs on all grand ceremonies, which I have had frequent occasion to mention. The thyrsus was probably either their staff of office, the long-handled censer, or the vase for libation,—the last two being usually carried by the high priests when about to officiate, either at the temple or the tomb.

They relate that when the Apis died a natural death, his obsequies were celebrated on the most magnificent scale; and to such extravagance was this carried, that those who had the office of taking charge of him were often ruined by the heavy expenses entailed upon them. On one occasion, during the reign of the first Ptolemy, upwards of 50 talents were borrowed to defray the necessary cost of his funeral†; "and in our time," says Diodorus, "the curators of other sacred animals have expended 100 talents in their burial."

As soon as he was buried, permission was given to the priests to enter the temple of Sarapis‡,

* Επι σχεδιας. Plut. de Is. s. 35.
† Diodor. i. 84.
‡ Probably of Osiris or Apis.

though previously forbidden during the whole of the festival.

From whatever cause the death of Apis took place, the people performed a public lamentation *, as if Osiris himself had died: and this mourning lasted until the other Apis, his successor, had been found. They then commenced their rejoicings, which were celebrated with an enthusiasm equal to the grief exhibited during the late mourning.

The notion entertained by the Egyptians respecting the reappearance of the Deity under the same form, and his entering the body of another bull as soon as the Apis died, confirms the opinion of Diodorus, that they believed in the transmigration of the Soul of Osiris into the body of this animal: and the choice of it as the representative of Osiris was probably owing to the doctrine of emanation already mentioned.

Of the discovery of a new Apis, Ælian† gives the following account. "As soon as a report is circulated that the Egyptian God has manifested himself, certain of the sacred scribes, well versed in the mystical marks, known to them by tradition, approach the spot where the Divine Cow has deposited her calf, and there following the ancient ordonnance of Hermes, feed it with milk during four months, in a house facing the rising Sun. When this period has passed, the sacred scribes and prophets resort to the dwelling of

* Conf. Tibull. lib. i. Eleg. vii. 28.
"Barbara Memphitem plangere docta bovem."
† Ælian, xviii. 10.

Apis, at the time of the new Moon, and placing him in a boat prepared for the purpose, convey him to Memphis, where he has a convenient and agreeable abode, with pleasure grounds, and ample space for wholesome exercise. Female companions of his own species are provided for him, the most beautiful that can be found, kept in apartments, to which he has access when he wishes. He drinks out of a well or fountain of clear water; for it is not thought right to give him the water of the Nile, which is considered too fattening.

"It would be tedious to relate what pompous processions and sacred ceremonies the Egyptians perform on the celebration of the rising of the Nile, at the fête of the Theophania, in honour of this God, or what dances, festivities, and joyful assemblies are appointed on the occasion, in the towns and in the country." He then says, "the man from whose herd the divine beast has sprung, is the happiest of mortals, and is looked upon with admiration by all people;" which refutes his previous statement respecting the divine Cow: and the assertions of other writers, as well as probability, show that it was not the mother which was *chosen to produce* a Calf with particular marks, but that the Apis was selected from its having them. The honour conferred on the cow which bore it, was retrospective, being given her *after* the Apis with its proper marks "had been found" by the priests; and this is consistent with the respect paid to the possessor of the favoured herd, in which the Sacred Bull had been discovered. "Apis," continues the natu-

ralist, "is an excellent interpretation of futurity. He does not employ virgins or old women sitting on a tripod, like some other Gods, nor require that they should be intoxicated with the sacred potion; but inspires boys, who play around his stable, with a divine impulse, enabling them to pour out predictions in perfect rhythm."

It was in consequence of these festivities that the anger of Cambyses was so much excited against the people of Memphis. Supposing that they intended to signify their satisfaction at the defeat of his army in the Ethiopian war *, he sent for the priests, and asked them the reason of their rejoicings. They replied, that it was the celebration of the manifestation of the God Apis, who had been a long time without appearing amongst them. Cambyses, little pleased with this reply, ordered the pretended Deity to be brought before him; when, drawing his sword, he plunged it into the animal's body; and having killed it, he ordered the priests to be beaten, and all those who were found celebrating the festival to be put to death.

The Egyptians not only paid divine honours to the bull Apis, but, considering him the living image † and representative of Osiris, they consulted him as an oracle, and drew from his actions good or bad omens. They were in the habit of offering him any kind of food; with the hand: if he took it, the answer was considered favourable ‡; if he refused,

* Herodot. iii. 27.
† Plut. de Is. s. 39. Amm. Marcellin. lib. 22.
‡ Plin. lib. viii. c. 48.

it was thought to be a sinister omen. Pliny and Ammianus observe, that he refused what the unfortunate Germanicus presented to him; and the death of that prince, which happened shortly after, was thought to confirm most unequivocally the truth of those presages. The Egyptians also drew omens respecting the welfare of their country, according to the stable in which he happened to be. To these two stables he had free access; and when he spontaneously entered one, it foreboded benefits to Egypt, as the other the reverse; and many other tokens were derived from accidental circumstances connected with this sacred animal.

Pausanias * says, that those who wished to consult Apis, first burnt incense on an altar, filling the lamps with oil which were lighted there, and depositing a piece of money on the altar to the right of the statue of the God. Then placing their mouth near his ear, in order to consult him, they asked whatever question they wished. This done, they withdrew, covering their two ears until they were outside the sacred precincts of the temple; and there listening to the first expression any one uttered, they drew from it the desired omen.

Children, also, according to Pliny and Solinus, who attended in great numbers during the processions in honour of the divine bull, received the gift of foretelling future events; and the same authors mention a superstitious belief at Memphis, of the influence of Apis upon the Croco-

* Pausan. lib. viii.

dile, during the seven days when his birth was celebrated. On this occasion, a gold and silver patera was annually thrown into the Nile, at a spot called from its form the "Bottle:" and while this festival was held, no one was in danger of being attacked by crocodiles, though bathing carelessly in the river. But it could no longer be done with impunity after the 6th hour of the 8th day. The hostility of that animal to man was then observed invariably to return, as if permitted by the Deity to resume its habits.

Apis was usually kept in one or other of the two stables, — seldom going out, except into the court attached to them, where strangers came to visit him. But on certain occasions he was conducted through the town with great pomp. He was then escorted by numerous guards, who made a way amidst the crowd, and prevented the approach of the profane; and a chorus of children singing hymns in his honour headed the procession.

The attention paid to Apis, and the care they took of his health by scrupulously selecting the most wholesome food, were so great, that even the water he drank was taken from a particular well set apart for his use; and it was forbidden to give him the water of the Nile, in consequence of its being found to have a peculiarly fattening property. "For," says Plutarch*, "they endeavour to prevent fatness as well in Apis as themselves; always studious that their bodies may sit as light about their souls as possible, in order that their mortal part may

* Plut. de Is. s. 5. *Suprà*, p. 355.

not oppress and weigh down the more divine and immortal." Their idea of the fecundating qualities of the Nile water led the Egyptian shepherds to raise it from the river for their flocks, especially for ewes, or goats, which were not prolific*; and to this Ælian attributes their producing five at a birth.

I have seen an instance of a bull, with the globe and feathers between its horns, standing on a monument built at the side of a mountain,—probably the Libyan range behind Memphis, — and over it the name "Pthah-Sokari-Osiris, the God of the West;" which was probably intended to represent Apis, in the character of that Deity. On the opposite side was a Cow, also coming from a mountain, with a similar head-dress, and the long horns usually given to Athor, over which was the name Isis. This is one of many proofs of the analogy between the two Goddesses; the more remarkable, from Isis being introduced with Apis, as she usually is with Osiris.

A black bull with a white crescent on its shoulder, or a white spot upon the shoulder, and others on the haunch, the nose, round the eye, and on its legs, carrying a dead body, covered with a red pall, is sometimes represented at the foot of a mummy case, or on a board deposited in the tomb. This appears to be the Apis, in some office connected with Osiris, as Ruler of Amenti. It runs in haste over the hills, on its way to the Western region, where Osiris presided: and it is remarkable that the King, when running into

* Ælian, iii. 33.

the presence of the Gods, with vases or other emblems in his hand*, is sometimes accompanied by a bull. A "white" bull also attended in the procession at the coronation of the Pharaohs.

Sarapis, Serapis.

The account given by Plutarch† of the introduction of this Deity into Egypt, is as follows: — "Ptolemy Soter had a dream, in which a colossal statue, such as he had never seen before, appeared to him, commanding him to remove it as soon as possible from the place where it then stood, to Alexandria. Upon this, the King was in great perplexity, not knowing where the statue was. Sosibius, however, who was a great traveller, declared that he had seen one answering its description at Sinope. Soteles and Dionysius were, therefore, sent thither, and with much difficulty succeeded in bringing the statue to Egypt.

Timotheus‡ the interpreter, and Manetho the Sebennite, as soon as it arrived and was shown to them, concluded, from the Cerberus and dragon, that it represented Pluto, and persuaded the King that it was no other than Sarapis. For it was not so called at Sinope; but, on its arrival at Alexandria, it obtained the name of Sarapis, which, with the Egyptians, answers to Pluto. The observation of Heraclitus the physiologist, that Hades (Pluto) and

* *Vide infrà*, on the Ceremonies, beginning of Chap. xv.
† Plut. de Is. s. 28.
‡ Tacitus says he was an Athenian.

Bacchus are the same, leads to a similar conclusion: Osiris answering to Bacchus, as Sarapis to Osiris, after he had changed his nature; for Sarapis is a name common to all, as those know who are initiated into the mysteries of Osiris. The opinion of those who pretend that 'Sarapis is no God, but the mere denomination of the Sepulchral Chest, into which the body of Apis, after death, is deposited,' is perfectly absurd. The priests, indeed, —at least, the greatest part of them,—tell us, that Sarapis is no other than the mere union of Osiris and Apis into one word*; declaring that 'Apis ought to be regarded as a fair and beautiful image of the Soul of Osiris.' For my own part, I cannot but think that this word is expressive of joy and gladness, since the festival which the Greeks call Charmosyna, or the feast of joy, is by the Egyptians termed Sarei."

Tacitus† gives the same account of the introduction of Sarapis into Egypt, which is confirmed by Macrobius and Pausanias‡; and Clemens of Alexandria§ states, "on the authority of some persons, that the statue was sent as a present by the people of Sinope to Ptolemy Philadelphus, who had relieved their city from famine by a supply of corn. It was a representation of Pluto, and was placed in the promontory now called Racotis, where the temple of Sarapis stands. Others, however, affirm this Sarapis to be a Pontic

* Clemens (Orat. Adhort. p. 21.), also, says the name of Sarapis is composed of Osiris and Apis.

† Tacit. Hist. iv. c. 83, 84.

‡ Pausan. in Athen.

§ Clem. Orat. Adhort. p. 20.

statue, brought to Alexandria in consequence of the great concourse of strangers in that city."

From the foregoing statement of Plutarch, it is evident that the Sarapis, whose worship was introduced by the first Ptolemy from Sinope, was a new Deity, previously unknown in the Pantheon of Egypt; and Macrobius* affirms, that, though the Egyptians were compelled to receive Sarapis and Saturn into the order of Gods, and to celebrate their rites after the manner of the Alexandrians, their temples were never admitted within the precincts of their towns. We therefore find no mention of Sarapis till the time of the Greeks and Romans; and that, principally in cities founded or greatly frequented by them, as Alexandria, Canopus, Antinöopolis, and Berenice, in small Roman towns of the Oasis, in the Nitriotis†, or in quarries and stations in the deserts, where he was also invoked under the names of Pluto and Sol inferus.‡ The form of Sarapis, according to the statues found at Rome, is totally different from that assigned to him in the Græco-Egyptian temples of Egypt; where he appears to be merely a modification of Osiris himself; and the same character is given him in a statue lately found at Alexandria§, by Mr. Harris, to whom I am indebted for the drawing given in the Plate. Clemens describes the figure of the God to be of an azure colour approaching to black.

* Macrob. Saturn. i. 4. † Strabo, xvii. p. 552.
‡ These inscriptions usually begin ΔΙΙ ΗΛΙΩΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΙ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΔΙ.
§ *Vide* Plate 31. Part 3. fig. 2.

Indeed, from what Plutarch says, that Sarapis answered to Osiris after he had changed his nature, (that is, when Judge of Amenti, or, as Diodorus says, in the character of Pluto*,) and that Sarapis was a name given to all persons after their death †; it is evident that he was thought to resemble Osiris, in his character of President of the Lower Regions. But the mode of celebrating his worship was repugnant to the religious scruples of the Egyptians; he was therefore kept distinct, and refused a place amongst the Gods of their Pantheon. Tacitus‡ tells us, that so great was the difference of opinion respecting this Deity, that some thought him to be Æsculapius, others Osiris, others Jupiter, and others Pluto. According to Macrobius§, "the Egyptian Sarapis being asked who he was, replied in these verses: —

> 'Ειμι θεος τοιος δε μαθειν οἱον καγω ειπω·
> Ουρανιος κοσμος κεφαλη, γαστηρ δε θαλασσα,
> Γαια δε μοι ποδες εισι, τα δ'ουατα εν αιθερι κειται,
> Ομματε τηλαυγες λαμπρον φαος ηελιοιο:'—

from which it appears that Sarapis and the Sun are one and the same Deity;" and hence the formulas of so many Greek dedications to this God, which are inscribed, "To Pluto, the Sun, the great Sarapis."

Prichard supposes that "the rites of Æsculapius were borrowed by the Greeks from the worship of the Egyptian Sarapis;" "the same animals, the Serpent and Cock," which were

* Diodor. i. 25.
‡ Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. 83.
† *Vide suprà*, p. 316. 322. 325.
§ Macrob. Saturn. i. 25.

"appropriated to Sarapis, being the symbolical emblems or consecrated victims of the God of Health;" but it must be observed that these emblems are not given him by the Egyptians; and the cock is never represented. He also states, on the authority "of Porphyry and Eusebius, that he was supposed to preside over the invisible world, and to be the Ruler of dæmons, or maleficent spirits." *

Some, indeed, are disposed to think that Sarapis was an Egyptian Deity of an early æra, and that the resemblance found to exist in the attributes of the God of Sinope shows the Egyptians recognised in him a God already known to them; while others conclude that he was altogether unknown in Egypt previous to the age of Ptolemy Soter. But I will endeavour to reconcile these opinions. The statue was thought to bear analogy to Osiris; the word Sarapis was taken from the name of that Egyptian Deity, being a corruption of Apis Osiris † (or Osiris Apis); and the new God was made a separate Divinity in consequence of some objection to the mode of celebrating his worship. This is confirmed by what Pausanias says of the worship of Sarapis being introduced into Egypt; and of there having been a temple dedicated to him at Memphis, and another at Alexandria, previous to the reign of Ptolemy; the latter being, according to Pau-

* Prichard, Egypt. Myth. p. 94.

† Plutarch (de Is. s. 37.) says, "Osiris and Sarapis are none other than Epaphus (or Apis)." According to Clemens, "Aristeas the Argive thought that Apis was called Sarapis;" and he has a strange idea of the Argive King Apis being the founder of Memphis. Strom. i. p. 29.

sanias*, "the most splendid, as the former was the most ancient." Tacitus also states, that, "at Rhacotis†, a small temple had been consecrated to the same Deity and *to Isis* before that time." The Deity, then, to whose temple they allude, was Osiris; Sarapis, who was only introduced into temples built by the Ptolemies and Cæsars, was a modified form of the husband of Isis; and the God of Sinope was thought or made to accord with the same Deity. We may at once reject the statement of Eustathius, that the Jupiter of Sinope was the Deity of Memphis, as we may question the truth of there being a hill near that city which bore the name of Sinopion.

The endeavour, on the part of his votaries, to discover in Sarapis a resemblance to so many different Deities, arose from their desire to remove that antipathy to his worship which the Egyptians had conceived, from the moment this foreign Deity was introduced into their country; and every means were resorted to which could serve to dispel their prejudice, or induce them to perceive in him an affinity to their ancient Gods. But the artifice had, as might be expected, little effect upon the priesthood, with the exception of those appointed to temples erected by the Ptolemies, in remote places, as at the Oases, Berenice, and other towns situated in the desert. And while few Gods were known at Alexandria, but

* Pausan. Athen.

† Rhacotis or Racotis (Racôt) stood where Alexandria was built. Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. 84.; and Strabo, xvii. p. 545.

this intruder; who was arbitrarily made to conform to, or usurp the attributes of several other respectable Divinities; the Alexandrian Greeks fancied, by giving him a comprehensive character similar to that mentioned by Macrobius, that they had united in him* the Essence of a whole assembly of Gods. But Sarapis was at no time Egyptian; he was always foreign to their worship, and treated as an intruder by the Egyptians; and at most he may be considered a Græco-Egyptian Deity, attached to rather than belonging to the Pantheon of Egypt.

Isis, Ceres, Proserpine, Matter, Αρχη.

Isis, more frequently worshipped as a Deity in the temples of Egypt than Osiris, except in his mystical character, has, from the number of attributes given her, been confounded with many other Deities, and has obtained the title of Myrionymus, or "with ten thousand names."† Plutarch supposes her the same as Neith ‡, Athyr §, Proserpine ‖, the Moon ¶, and "the beginning," opposed to Nephthys, who was "the end." In the region of

* The Emperor Adrian saw in him the God of the Jews and Christians.

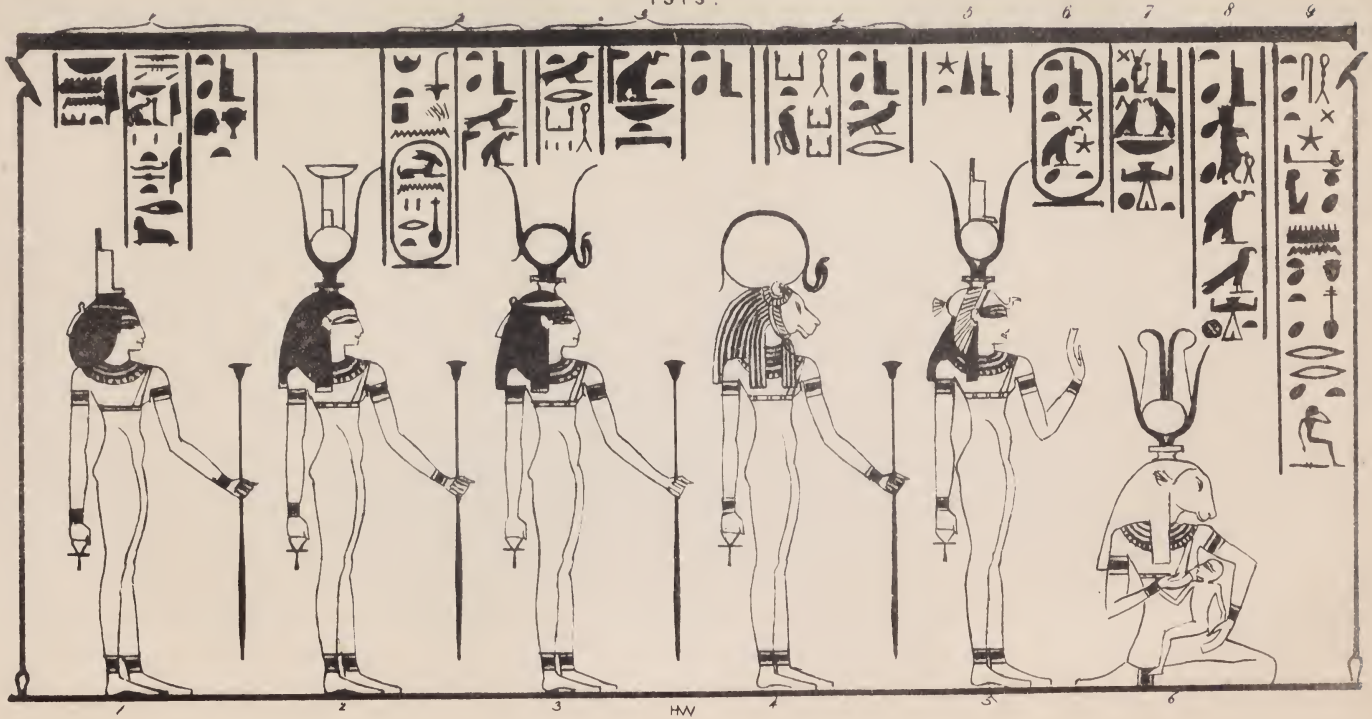
† Plut. de Is. s. 33. Greek inscriptions in Egypt, &c.

‡ Plut. de Is. s. 9. § Plut. de Is. s. 56.

‖ Plut. de Is s. 27.

¶ Plut. de Is. s. 52. The Moon was supposed by the Greeks to have a similar diversity of character; and Lucian speaks of "*την Σεληνην. . . πολυμορφον τι θεαμα, και αλλοτε αλλοιον τι φανταζομενον. το μεν γαρ πρωτον, γυναικειαν μορφην επεδεικνυτο, ειτα βους εγενετο παγκαλος, ειτα σκυλαξ εφαινετο.*" *Vide* Diodor. i. 25. Diog. Laërt. de Vit. Philos. in Proëm. &c.

ISIS.



ISIS

PART_1.

NEPTHYS.

PART_2.

Amenti, she corresponded to Proserpine; where, as the wife of Osiris, the judge of the dead, the title Thermuthis, "the *giver of death*," if it really was applied to her, might serve to indicate her office. And if Philarchus says the latter name was given to the sacred Asp, or basilisk, with which they crowned the statues of Isis *, it may either have been confined to those occasions when so employed, or have been given it in the sense of "*deadly*," from its fatal bite.

Apuleius † addresses Isis as Ceres, or heavenly Venus, the sister of Phœbus, or Proserpine; and makes her say, "I am Nature, the parent of all things, mistress of all the Elements, the beginning of ages, Sovereign of the Gods, Queen of the Manes, the first of heavenly beings; .... My divinity, uniform in itself, is honoured under numerous forms, various rites, and different names. The Phrygians call me Pessinuntian‡, mother Goddess; the Athenian Autochthones, the Cecropian Minerva §; the people of Cyprus, Paphian Venus; the arrow-armed Cretans, Diana Dictyana; the Sicilians, Stygian Proserpine; the Eleusinians, ancient Ceres; others, Juno, Bellona, Hecate, Rhamnusia; but the Sun-illumined Ethiopians, and the Egyptians, renowned for ancient lore, worshipping me with due ceremonies, call me by my real name, Queen Isis."

According to Herodotus ||, "Ceres and Bacchus

* *Vide infrà*, on the Asp. † Apul. Met. ii. 241.
‡ The Cybele of Pessinus.
§ Diodorus says the Athenians swore by Isis. i. 29.
|| Herodot. ii. 123. 156.

were the same as Isis and Osiris, and had sovereign power in the lower regions." An inscription of Arrius Balbinus, found at Capua, calls "Isis one and all things:" and Diodorus* makes the Goddess say, "I am Isis, Queen of the country, educated by Mercury (Thoth). What I have decreed, no one can annul. I am the eldest daughter of Saturn (Seb), the youngest of the Gods. I am the sister and wife of King Osiris. I am the first who taught men the use of corn. I am the mother of Horus; I am she who rises in the Dog-star: the city of Bubastis was built in my honour. Rejoice, O Egypt, which hast been to me a nurse." The same author also says, "There is a great question respecting this Goddess, as well as Osiris; some calling her Isis, others Ceres, Thesmophoron, the Moon, or Juno; and many give her all these names.†

Plutarch considers "Isis to be the Earth ‡, the feminine part of nature §, or that property which renders her a fit subject for the production of all other beings"; and he thinks‖ "that the dresses of her statues were made with a variety of colours, from her power being wholly conversant about matter, which becomes and admits all things." The notion of Isis being the Earth agrees with her supposed resemblance to Ceres, under the name of Demeter, or mother Earth; and Diodorus ¶ says, that "the Egyptians, considering the Earth to be

* Diodor. i. 27. † Diodor. i. 25.
‡ Plut. de Is. s. 38.
§ Plut. de Is. s. 53. Conf. Athenagor. Supplic. pro Christianis, "Ισιν φυσιν αιωνος, εξ ἡς παντες εφυσαν."
‖ Plut. de Is. s. 78. ¶ Diodor. i. 12.

the receptacle of all things that are born, call it *mother*, as the Greeks in like manner denominate it Demeter; — the word being slightly altered by time from the ancient γην μητερα (mother Earth), as Orpheus attests, 'γη μητηρ παντων Δημητηρ πλουτοδειρα.'"*

The numerous characters she bore, arose from the various combinations into which she entered. She was considered to be matter in reference to the Intellect of the Deity, which operated upon it in the creation. And, in accordance with this idea, Osiris and Isis were supposed to resemble the two members of "the Nuptial diagram of Plato, representing a right-angled triangle, whose perpendicular side is equal to 3, the base to 4, and the hypothenuse to 5; and in which the perpendicular is designed to indicate the masculine nature, the base the feminine, and the hypothenuse the offspring of both. Accordingly," adds Plutarch, "the first of these aptly represents Osiris, or the prime Cause; the second, Isis, or the receptive power; and the last, Orus, or the common effect of the other two." † She was thought to answer to Proserpine, because she presided with Osiris in Amenti; and the hieroglyphics not only identify her with Hecate, but point out the Egyptian origin of that name in the legends accompanying her name, where she is styled "Isis, the potent Hekte." In comparing Anubis and Hecate, Plutarch would have been more correct if, for the former, he had substituted the name of Isis,

* Conf. Cic. Nat. Deor. lib. ii.

† Plut. de Is. s. 56.

when he says *, "Anubis seems to be of the same power and nature as the Grecian Hecate, a Deity common both to the celestial and infernal regions." She is sometimes figured under the form of a Scorpion, the emblem of the Goddess Selk, with the legend "Isis Selk;" but this is only in some inferior capacity connected with the mystic rites, or the region of Amenti. †

The greater number of the characters given to Isis by Greek writers, appear to be mere fancies of a late time, unsupported by the authority of the monuments; and some are in direct opposition to the known sentiments of the Egyptians ‡; as an instance of which, I may mention her supposed identity with the Moon, which was represented by the God Thoth, and in no instance considered a female Deity.

I do not stop to examine, or even to enumerate, the idle tales which the Greeks repeated concerning Isis. I have already observed, that both Osiris and his sister Isis were not deified persons who had lived on earth, but fabulous beings, whose history was founded on metaphysical speculation; and adapted to certain phænomena of nature, as in

* Plut. de Is. s. 44.

† *Vide* Plate 43. *a*.

‡ Modern writers have till lately been in the habit of citing the Isiac or Bembine table as authority respecting this Goddess, and various Egyptian rites; but I need scarcely state the well-known fact of its being the most palpable forgery which ever obtained a place in any museum. The discovery of hieroglyphics has enabled us to ascertain, what was shrewdly suspected long ago by Warburton and others. The authority of the Isiac table has ceased to be mentioned; and it only appears in the museum of Turin, to show how much labour and expense could be incurred for the unworthy object of deceiving the world.

the allegory of the rising of the Nile, where she is the land of Egypt irrigated by the waters of the inundation. With the same spirit, and in continuation of her fabulous history, it was said that her soul was transferred after death to Sirius or the Dog-star, "which the Egyptians call Sothis."* That she had the name of Isis-Sothis, and was supposed to represent Sirius, is perfectly true, as the sculptures themselves abundantly prove †; and the heliacal rising of that star is represented on the ceiling of the Memnonium at Thebes, under the form and name of this Goddess. It was not, however, in consequence of a belief entertained in Egypt,—at least, by the initiated,—that the soul of Isis had been transferred to the Dog-star: this was looked upon in the same light as the connection between the God Thoth and the Moon, who in one of his characters answered to the Lunus of the Egyptians; and in another corresponded to Mercury. In like manner, Isis and other Deities assumed on different occasions various characters; and Sothis, the Dog-star, was one of those assigned to the sister of Osiris. This adaptation of Isis, and other Deities, to the planetary system, led to the remark of Eusebius ‡, "that the Egyptians esteem the Sun to be the Demiurgus; and hold the legends about Osiris and Isis, and all their other mythological fables, to have reference to the Stars, their appearances and occultations, and the periods of their

* Plut. de Is. ss. 21. and 61.
† *Vide* Plate 34. Hierog. No. 5.
‡ Euseb. Pr. Evan. iii. c. 4. *Vide suprà*, p. 291.

risings, or to the increase and decrease of the Moon, to the cycles of the Sun, to the diurnal and nocturnal hemispheres, or to the river." Plutarch* also gives one explanation of the history of Isis and Osiris, taken from the phænomena of eclipses.

The great importance attached to Sothis was owing to the peculiar period of the year when the heliacal rising of that star took place; and the influence it was supposed to exercise upon the commencement of the inundation, which was typified by Osiris, very naturally led the Egyptians to connect it with Isis.

I have already noticed, in a former work, the use made of this star in their astronomical calculations, in speaking of the two Egyptian years †; from which I shall extract a few observations. "The conquest of Egypt by the Romans had acquainted that people with the existence of the arch, and its utility as a substitute for wood, to which it probably owed its invention; nor can any one for a moment imagine that the vanity of that nation would have allowed to remain concealed the name of its inventor, had he been a Roman. The same remark applies to the intercalated year; and surely the Romans were at no time celebrated for astronomical knowledge. The Roman Calendar was, indeed, put in order by Julius Cæsar, but with the assistance of Sosigenes, an Egyptian; who, to supply the defect of 67 days, that had been lost through the inattention of the Pontifices, and in

* Plut. de Is. s. 44.
† Materia Hierog. Appendix, No. 1.

order to bring the beginning of the year once more to the winter solstice, as was instituted by Numa, made that year consist of 15 months, whence called the 'year of confusion.' The ensuing years were formed of 365 days; and every fourth, a day was added, making 366. The 27th of August at *that time* coincided with the 1st of Thoth.* The Egyptian civil Solar year consisted of 365 days, divided into 12 months of 30 days each, at the end of which were added the 5 days called epact †, or intercalated. This civil year was always used by the Egyptians, for the common epochas, and calculations of the people; as the dates of their Kings, ages of men, and the like.‡ That used by the priests for astronomical purposes was different, and was calculated from the heliacal rising of the Dog-star (Sothis) to that of the ensuing year, and consisted of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days; that is, every fourth year a day was intercalated, as in the Julian year, making it to consist of 366 days. Hence, as the Egyptian Solar year, in every four years, loses a day of the Sothic; and the 1st of Thoth vague, or Solar Thoth, runs through every part of that year, in the space of 1460 Sothic years, before it again coincides with the 1st of Thoth of the Sothic year; this period is called 'the Sothic period.' The intercalated year was afterwards adopted by the Copt inhabitants of Egypt, as their common civil year, and the Solar

* "The Canicula regularly rises in Egypt on the 1st of Thoth." This corresponded to the 20th of July in the year B. C. 1322, which was the commencement of the Canicular period. Censor. de Die Natali.

† *Vide suprà*, p. 310.

‡ Censor. de Die Natali. *Vide* Cory, p. 323.

was no longer used: but as the real year merely contains 365 days 5 hours 48 minutes 45½ seconds, this year of 365¼ days exceeds the true Solar year by upwards of 11 minutes, amounting to a day in about 131 years; and as the Copts have never corrected the year, the 1st of Thoth, at the present time *, falls on the 10th of September; on which day they celebrate a festival, and bathe in the waters of the rising Nile.

"The first correction for this excess of the Julian year, was made in Europe by Pope Gregory XIII., in 1582, (a correction which was adopted in England in 1752,) and is called the New Style, as that of the Copts and Greeks, the Old.

"To satisfy the reader that the ancient Egyptians had two years, I shall first call his attention to the origin and derivation of the expression, 'Sothic period,' which I before mentioned: Secondly, to the authority of ancient writers.

"Horapollo expressly tells us, the Egyptian Sothic year was called the squared year, from the intercalation of the quarter day, or one day every *fourth* year, and was distinguished in hieroglyphic writing by a square . Diodorus† says they make their months of 30 days, and add 5 days and a fourth to the 12th months; but does not allow it to have been a Roman innovation‡: and Ma-

* This was written in 1828.

† Diodor. i. 50. He visited Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy Neus Dionysus. i. 44.

‡ Strabo also mentions it as an Egyptian custom, when he says, (lib.

crobius * actually affirms that 'Julius Cæsar derived from the Egyptian institutions the motions of the constellations, concerning which he left some very learned papers, and also borrowed from the same source the mode of regulating the extent of the year with the course of the Sun.' In another place he says, 'Cæsar, imitating the Egyptians, the only people acquainted with all divine matters, attempted to regulate the year according to the number required by the Sun, which completes its course in $365\frac{1}{4}$ days.'

Had this been due to the care and skill of the Roman astronomers, the Romans would, with their usual vanity, have informed us of a fact, they could have had no object in concealing, and which they would have been proud to acknowledge. But the regulation of the Roman year awaited the conquest of Egypt: and the uniform mode of calculating the extent of the annual revolution, adopted by the Egyptian priests, hinted the propriety of employing an Egyptian mathematician, to settle the errors which, through time and the neglect of the Pontifices, had been suffered to accumulate in the year of Numa.

"It does not appear whether the Egyptians omit-

xvii. p. 561.) "They (the Egyptians) do not divide their year according to the course of the Moon, but of the Sun; and to the 12 months, each of 30 days, they add five days at the end of the year. But to make up the complete sum of the whole year, which has an excess of a portion of a day, they put together the whole surplus of each year, until it makes a whole day. All which calculation they attribute to Hermes." And in another place (xvii. p. 554.) he states, that they had the same knowledge in the early time of Plato and Eudoxus, when the year was unknown in Greece. *Vide suprà*, p. 15. *et seq.*

* Macrob. Saturn. i. 18.

ted the intercalary day every 130 years in the Sothic system, which we might expect from the usual accuracy of their calculations, or were contented with the approximation of the quarter day; for though the Copts do not reject this increase, and are satisfied with the regular intercalation of one day every fourth year, this might have been from their finding it perplexing, and that additional accuracy might have been rejected in later times, when Christianity took the place of the Pagan institutions of Egypt. If, however, their solar year exactly coincided with the Sothic, every 1460 years, it is evident that neither the ancient Egyptians, nor the Copts, ever rejected the intercalary day; whence these, like the common civil years, went forward at the increasing ratio of one day in 130 or 131 years.

"The point, however, in question is, I think, sufficiently clear, — that the intercalary day every fourth year was of Egyptian origin, and used by the priests long before the conquest of Egypt by the Romans. The name of 'the Sothic period' would alone prove this; and the particularly minute observations made by the priests respecting the future state of their river, from prognostics drawn from the aspect of the Star at rising, and the anxiety with which they expected its first appearance, are well known. Nor is at all compatible with reason to suppose that all this was of a late time, and owed its origin to the conquest of the country by the Romans. The rise of the Nile had *always* been looked upon as the moment of rejoicing; the heliacal rising of

this Star happened when it was beginning to leave the confinement of its banks, to overflow the lands*, and promise abundance to the inhabitants of Egypt; and its first appearance had *always* been the signal for the priests to ascertain the favourable or unfavourable prospects its aspect was said to forebode. Nor could the time of its coincidence with the Sun have been ascertained, unless the period of its return were calculated. And were all this anxiety, all this *rejoicing at the rise of their river*, and all these peculiar institutions of Egypt, to await the late epoch of the Roman conquest? If we admit the accounts of every historian who has mentioned the Egyptians and Romans, we cannot for one moment suppose that Egypt was indebted to her conqueror for any skill or hint in astronomy or mathematical science."

The introduction of Isis-Sothis at the Memnonium is remarkable, not only from its illustrating the connection between that Goddess and the Dog-star,—instances of which occur elsewhere,—but in a chronological point of view. In the astronomical subject there introduced, the 12 Egyptian months are represented, each in a separate compartment, under the usual heads, of the 4 months of the water plants, the 4 of ploughing, and the 4 of the waters,—making the three seasons of which their year consisted.† In the 1st season were Thoth, Paopi, Athor, Choeak; in the 2d, Tobi,

* *Vide* Ælian, x. 45. Conf. Tibull. i. Eleg. vii. 21.
"Qualis et arentes cum findit Sirius agros
Fertilis æstivâ Nilus abundat aquâ."

† *Vide suprà*, woodcut No. 420. page 14.

Mechir, Phamenoth, Pharmuthi; in the 3d, Pachons, Paoni, Epep, and Mesoré. Between this last and the first, or Thoth, a space is left, corresponding, as I imagine, to the five days of the epact (introduced between the end of Mesoré and the commencement of Thoth of the ensuing year), and beneath this is the figure of Sothis, representing the heliacal rising of that star. This, then, must have occurred either at the beginning of Thoth, or in the middle of the five days of the epact; and it serves to point out the period when the building was erected. For, since the Canicular period commenced when the 1st of Thoth fell on the 20th of July, in the year 1322 B. C., we may assign this date to Remeses the Great, in whose reign it was built; and it may not be presumption to consider that it justifies me in fixing his accession to the year 1355 B. C., which I had already concluded from other data previous to observing this astronomical fact. The appearance of Isis-Sothis in a boat confirms the statement of Plutarch *, that the heavenly bodies "were not represented by the Egyptians drawn in chariots, but sailing round the world in boats, intimating, that to the principle of moisture they owe not only their power of moving, but even their support and nourishment."

According to Herodotus †, Isis was the greatest of all the Egyptian Goddesses. This remark must, however, be limited to her mysterious character, as husband and sister of Osiris, and attending him

* Plut. de Is. s. 34. † Herodot. ii. 40.

in his office of Judge of the dead: as Ceres, in a similarly mysterious character, enjoyed greater honours among the Greeks than other Deities who held a far higher rank in their Pantheon. It appears that she enjoyed a more general worship at a late period, than in the early Pharaonic ages: and the almost exclusive repute she obtained among the Greeks may have been partly owing to their attributing to her many of the honours which really belonged to other Deities, as I have already observed.* This last may also have been from her mysterious character then acquiring more general celebrity; from the great ambition felt by numerous individuals to be admitted to the mysteries; and from the readiness of the Egyptian priests to flatter the prejudices and ignorance of those strangers who showed a desire to uphold the worship of their Gods, and build temples in their honour. For since no Egyptian discouraged the wish to erect a shrine to Isis or Osiris, on the score of the right of other Deities, these two, who were almost the only Deities known to the Greeks, supplied at length the place of others; and few temples in late times were erected or endowed by the Greeks in honour of any other than Isis or Osiris, except to some particular Deity who had been for ages the patron of the city where that monument happened to be erected.

The worship of Isis was, indeed, universal throughout Egypt † at all times; and, according

* *Vide* p. 280. 282. 289.

† Herodot. ii. 42.

to Herodotus, her festival at Busiris was more conspicuous than any, except that of Diana at Bubastis.*

"The festival," says Herodotus, "which they celebrate at Busiris, in honour of Isis, is magnificent. After having prepared themselves for it by prayers and fasting, they sacrifice a bull. They first take off the skin, and remove the intestines, leaving the inner parts and the fat. They then cut off the legs, the upper part of the haunches, the shoulders, and neck; and this being done, they fill the rest of the body with cakes of pure flour, honey, dried raisins, figs, incense, myrrh, and other aromatic substances. In this state, they burn it, pouring a quantity of oil upon the fire. Whilst the victim is consuming," "the votaries of the Goddess, who are assembled in great numbers, of both sexes, strike themselves in honour of one (Osiris) whom I am not permitted to mention †;" and "when they cease doing this, they eat what remains of the sacrifice." "The Carians who are present on this occasion, make themselves very conspicuous, by wounding their foreheads with knives; by which it is easy to see that they are strangers and not Egyptians,"—that civilised people not adopting so barbarous a custom.‡

"All the Egyptians offer clean bulls and calves; but they are not allowed to immolate heifers, be-

* Herodot. ii. 59. † Herodot. ii. 61.

‡ It is, therefore, evident that when the Israelites were commanded not to cut themselves, nor make a baldness between their eyes, allusion was not intended to an Egyptian, but to some Syrian custom. Deut. xiv. 1.

cause these are sacred to Isis, who is represented in her statues under the form of a woman with horns*, as the Greeks figure Io. All the Egyptians have far more consideration for heifers, than any other cattle; and there is not an Egyptian man or woman who would consent to kiss a Greek on the mouth, nor even to use his knife, his spit, or his boiler, nor taste the meat of a clean bull which had been cut by a Greek's knife. If a bull or a heifer happens to die, their funeral is performed in the following manner: the heifers are thrown into the river; and the bulls are buried in the suburbs, with one horn or both above ground, to mark the spot. Here the body remains till it is decomposed; and a boat, despatched from the Isle of Prosopitis, comes round to each town at a particular period.

"Prosopitis is an island in the Delta, nine *schœnes* in circumference, containing several towns; one of which, called Atarbechis, sends the boats destined to collect the bones, and employs several persons to go from town to town to exhumate them, and take them to a particular spot, where they are buried. They inter in like manner all other cattle which die. Such is their law, for they do not kill them. At Atarbechis† is a temple sacred to Athor, the Egyptian Venus."

In this statement of Herodotus, the connection between Isis and Athor is evident, both from the description of the Goddess with cow's horns, and

* This is the usual form of Athor. Conf. Ælian, x. 27.

† Bek or Beki, "a city," is found in several words; as Atarbechis, the *city* of Athor; Baalbek, the *city* of Baal (the Sun); and others.

from the mention of the city bearing her name. Ælian*, after stating that the Cow was particularly appropriated to Venus, says, "the Egyptians also represent Isis with *Cow's* horns;" and in the sculptures, when these two Divinities occur with each other's attributes, they are so closely allied, that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between them. Athor seems even to take the place of Isis; and Plutarch† expressly states, that "Isis is called Athyri, signifying 'Orus's mundane habitation,' or, as Plato expresses it, 'the place and receptacle of generation.' She was also styled 'Muth,' or 'Mother;' and Methuer, a name implying 'fulness and cause,' denoting not only the fulness of the matter of which the world consists, but also its intimate conjunction with the good, the pure, and the well-ordered principle." The interpretation he gives to Athyr (or Athor) is confirmed by the hieroglyphic legend of that Goddess, as I shall have occasion to remark: "Muth" is the well-known word *Maut*, "*mother;*" and in Methuer we trace the Coptic ⲙⲉϩ, *Meh*‡, signifying "*full.*" The remainder of this word is probably the same name of Athor, or Thy-or; or its termination *iri*, "*to make,*" may complete the interpretation given by Plutarch.

Herodotus§ supposes that Latona, who was Buto, performed the office of nurse to Horus (or, as he calls him, Apollo), the son of Isis; but the

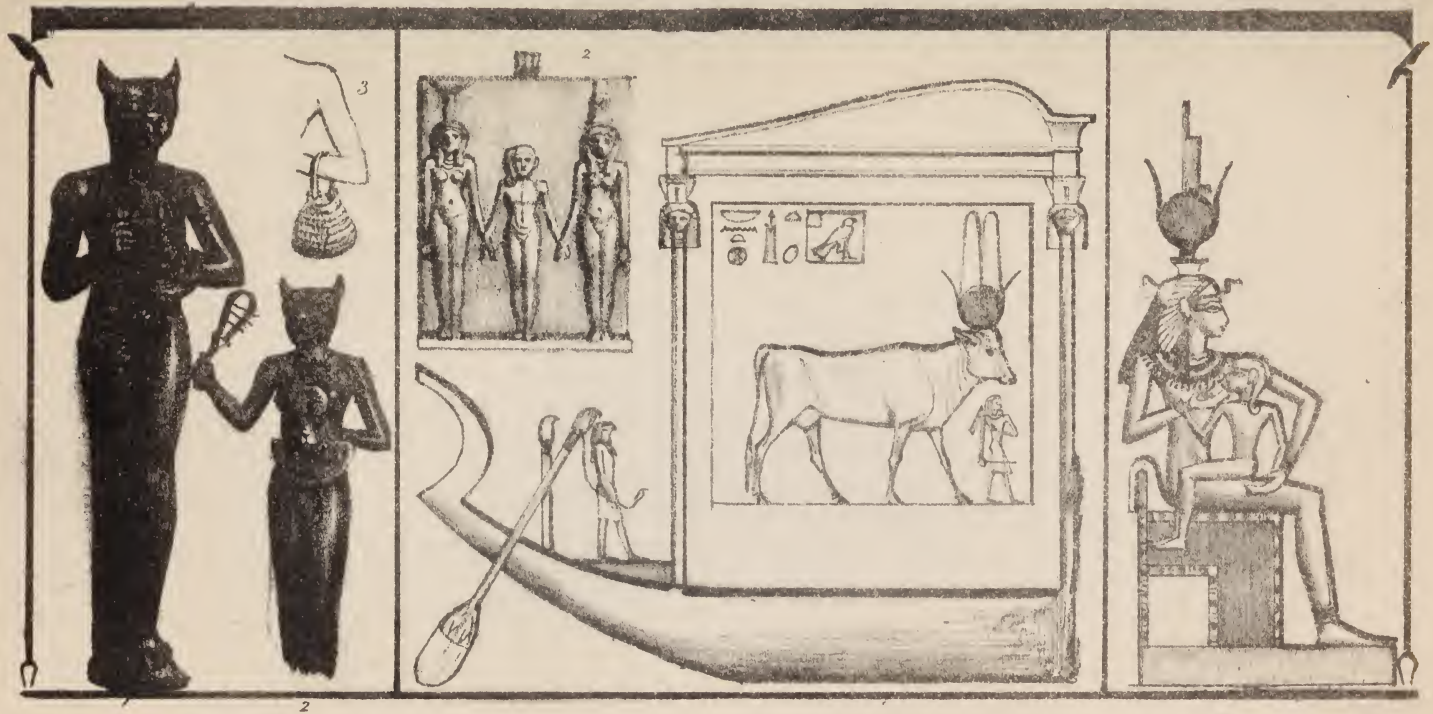
* Ælian. Nat. An. x. 27. † Plut. de Is. s. 56.
‡ Whence, perhaps, μεθυς, "full," in Greek.
§ Herodot. ii. 156.

PASHT

FIG. 1. THE COW OF ATHOR, AT DENDERA, WHICH THE SEPOYS ARE SAID TO HAVE WORSHIPED.

FIG. 2. TRIAD OF ISIS, HORUS & NEPTHYS.

ISIS, NURSING HORUS



PART 1. PART 2. PART 3

sculptures plainly prove that Isis nursed the child herself*; and when Athor is represented with the infant, she is the member of another Triad.

The Greeks and Romans seem to have at once adopted the emblems of Athor in their representations of Isis, and, unacquainted as they were with the Egyptian Venus, to have assigned exclusively to Isis the Sacred Cow, with whose horns she was represented in the celebrated festival in her honour, thus described by Ovid†: —

> "Cùm medio noctis spatio, sub imagine somni,
> Inachis ante torum, pompâ comitata suorum,
> Aut stetit, aut visa est. Inerant lunaria fronti
> *Cornua*, cum spicis nitido flaventibus auro,
> Et regale decus: cum quâ latrator Anubis,
> Sanctaque Bubastis, variusque coloribus Apis;
> Quique premit vocem, digitoque silentia suadet:
> Sistraque erant, nunquamque satìs quæsitus Osiris,
> Plenaque somniferi serpens peregrina veneni."

It must, indeed, be admitted, that Isis, even in olden times, was sometimes figured in Egyptian sculpture with a cow's head, as well as with a head-dress surmounted by the horns of Athor; but she then assumed the attributes of that Goddess, — a custom which I have shown to be common to many Egyptian Deities, who frequently appeared with the emblems and even under the form of other members of the Pantheon. The general form of Isis was that of a female with a throne upon her head, particularly in her capacity of the presiding Goddess of Amenti. Her office then related principally to the souls of men in a future

* *Vide* Plate 35. *a.* Part 3.

† Ov. Met. ix. 685. The number of errors in these lines is remarkable.

state, where she formed the second member of a triad composed of Osiris, herself, and Nephthys, and assisted at the ordeal which took place before the judgment-seat of her brother and husband. Isis was also the second member of another triad, particularly worshipped at Philæ, consisting of Osiris, Isis, and Horus. She was said to be the "protector (or defender) of her brother*," in which capacity they represented her covering Osiris† with her outspread wings. She was styled the "royal consort and sister of Osiris," "Goddess Mother," (the Muth, of Plutarch); and sometimes Hekte, —on which account she may be thought to answer to Hecate or Proserpine, as before observed. She was occasionally figured with the head of a cat, or with the attributes of Bubastis; and I have once found her represented with the throne of Nephthys on her head, in the character of her sister.‡ In addition to the globe and horns of Athor, Isis has sometimes the flowers of water plants rising from her head, particularly when represented as the mother of the infant Horus, and the second member of the triad of Philæ. She often wears a cap representing the sacred Vulture; its head projecting from her forehead, its body covering her head, and its wings extending downwards at the side of her face to her shoulder;

No. 455. A head-dress of Isis. *Philæ.*

* *Vide* Plate 63. Part 1.

† Isis protects him in this manner, both in the character of Osiris and of Pthah-Sokari-Osiris; which connects the two Deities Pthah and Osiris.

‡ *Vide* fig. 2. of Plate 34.

though this is not confined to Isis, as Ælian supposes *, but is given equally to other Goddesses, and even to the Queens of Egypt. The title "royal wife and sister" was derived from her having married her brother Osiris; and this fabulous notion was supposed to have been the origin of a custom prevalent in Egypt from the earliest to the latest periods, which permitted brothers and sisters to marry; such an alliance being considered fortunate, in consequence of the example set by Isis and Osiris. †

Many individuals, even among the priesthood of early Pharaonic periods, are found, from the sculptures of Thebes, to have married their sisters; and the same authorities agree with the accounts of ancient Greek and Roman writers, in proving that some of the Ptolemies adopted this ancient custom.

The principal temple of Isis was in the Sacred Island of Philæ, where she was worshipped as the second member of the triad, already mentioned; and it is probable that the most solemn performance of the great mysteries took place there, which, as at Saïs and Busiris, had been instituted to commemorate the important secret of Osiris's death. Coptos also, according to Ælian ‡, distinguished her worship with peculiar rites; which, if we may believe Plutarch, were connected with the memory of Osiris, and the grief of the Goddess. The festivals of Isis were magnificent, and celebrated

* Ælian, x. 22.
† Diodor. i. 27. *Vide suprà*, Vol. II. p. 63.
‡ Ælian. Nat. An. x. 23.

with all the pomp which religion and superstition could invent; and particular ceremonies were exclusively appropriated to her.

An Epigram in the Anthology of Constantine Cephalus*, mentioning certain offerings made to Isis, thus addresses her: "O Goddess clad in linen, who governest the fertile (black) land of Egypt, honour these offerings with thy presence; this cake, this couple of geese, this ointment, these wild figs, these dried raisins, and this incense are already on the altar. Thou hast protected Damis from the dangers of the sea; if thou wilt also deliver him from poverty, he will offer you a fawn with gilded horns."

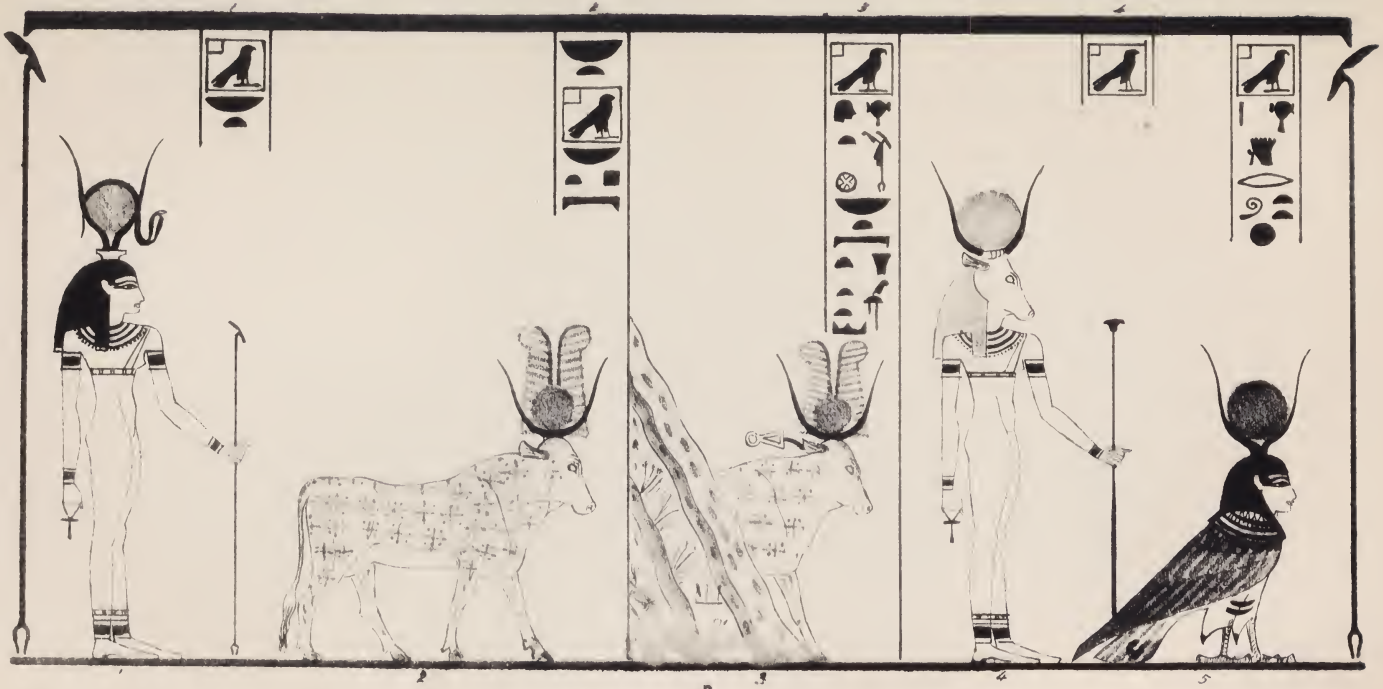
Athor, Hathor, Eit-hor, Thy-hor, Têi-hor, Athyr, Venus, Evening or Night, The Planet.

From the connection which appears to subsist between Isis and Athor, it may not be out of place to introduce the last mentioned Goddess, before I proceed to mention Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, and the other members of the family of Seb.

Athor, Hathor, or Athyr, the Egyptian Venus or Aphrodite, is frequently represented with the attributes of Isis, — with whom, therefore, she is identified by Apuleius; and in one of her characters she so nearly resembles her, that with difficulty, as already observed, she can be distinguished from the consort of Osiris. The analogy

* In Reiske. Given by Larcher, Herodot. vol. iii. p. 567.

ATHOR.



between these Divinities is also strongly marked by the name Athor, which, as Plutarch justly observes, implies "Horus's habitation." Thy-hor, Têi-hor, or Eit-hor, the house of Horus, is a literal translation of her hieroglyphic name; which consists of a hawk, the emblem of Horus, within the character representing a house, HI or THI, the whole group reading HT-HOR or THI-HOR, "the house of Horus."

In a papyrus published by M. Champollion, she is said to be "Neith in the East country, and Sme in the lotus and waters of the West;" which calls to mind the Venus of Sparta and Cythera, who wore the dress and arms of Minerva.

She is frequently figured under the form of a spotted Cow, thought to live behind the Western mountain of Thebes, from which the paintings of the Necropolis represent it issuing. She is probably then the Morning Star; since there is every reason to believe that the planet Venus belonged to her*, and that from the Egyptian Athor was borrowed the Greek Venus, the reputed daughter of Cœlus and Dies†, distinct as this last was from the Goddess of Beauty the wife of Vulcan. From her presiding over the West, we may conclude that the Western part of Thebes, or, indeed, of the Thebaïd, derived the name of Pathyris, "*belonging to Athor;*" for it was applied to the whole district, on that bank, even to the city of

* Pliny says to Isis, but these two Deities are easily mistaken for each other. *Vide suprà*, p. 293.

† Cicero, de Nat. Deor. lib. iii.

Hermonthis, which was said to belong to Pathyris of the Thebaïd.*

It was into her arms that the setting Sun, as it retired behind the mountain, was thought to be received†; and in this character she answered to *Night*, who presided over the West,—though, as already observed, she was distinct from that primæval night or primitive darkness, from which all things proceeded into existence.

While mentioning this subject, I cannot but pay a just tribute to the diligent inquiry of the learned Jablonski, who, though wrong in his etymology of Athor, and in not observing the distinction between the two *Nights* of their mythology, claims the greatest credit for that research and accurate perception, which, without the aid of hieroglyphical discovery, enabled him to ascertain one of the most important characters of the Egyptian Venus.

We may also see in the name of the Cow, "Ehe," the origin of the Greek Io, who, according to the mythological tales of the ancients, was supposed to have visited Egypt in her wanderings‡, and to have been "changed into Isis§, in the city of Coptos, where she was worshipped under that name." The third Egyptian month was called

* In a papyrus mentioned by Reuvens (lettre iii. p. 30.), "εν Ερμωνθει του Παθυριτου της Θηβαιδος."

† *Vide suprà*, p. 275. and 296.; and Plate 29. fig. 4.

‡ *Vide* Jablonski, iii. 1. p. 11., and ii. 1. p. vii.

§ *Vide* Diodor. i. 24. Conf. Ovid. Met. i. and Propert. ii. Eleg xxviii. 17.

"Io versa caput primos mugiverat annos;
Nunc Dea, quæ Nili flumina vacca bibit."

Of Io, see Herodot. i. 1. *Vide infrà*, on the Moon.

after Athor, in which the death * of Osiris was fabled to have happened; and it was at this season that the shrines of the Goddess (Ceres or Isis) were carried in procession; "the common time," says Plutarch†, "for the solemnisation of the feasts in her honour, falling within the month, in which the Pleiades appear, and the husbandmen begin to sow their corn, called by the Egyptians Athyr."‡

She was held in particular veneration at Aboccis (Aboosimbel), or, as it is called in the hieroglyphic legends, Aboshek (Abshek), where she appears as the second member of the great triad of that place. In the temple dedicated to her there, she is represented under the form of a Cow, to which the King and Queen offer flowers and libations, as it stands in a sacred boat surrounded by water plants; and in a niche at the upper end of the Adytum is the fore part of a Cow, bearing on its head the globe and feathers of Athor. In the hieroglyphic legends at the side, she is styled, "Athor, the lady of Aboskek, the foreign land,"—the town being out of Egypt, though within the territories of the Pharaohs. Strabo§ tells us, that "at Momemphis, where the Egyptian Venus was adored, a sacred Cow was kept with the same religious feeling as the Apis at Memphis, or the Mnevis at Heliopolis;" and the sacred animal of Momemphis was the same which received di-

* Plut. de Is. s. 39. † Plut. de Is. s. 69.

‡ Hesychius says, "One of the months, and the Cow, are called Athyr by the Egyptians."

§ Strabo, xvii. p. 552.

vine honours at Atarbechis, and other places devoted to the worship of Athor. The geographer* also speaks of the sacred Cow of "Aphroditopolis, the capital of a nome of the same name on the Arabian side of the river," which he describes of a white colour; and Ælian† says, that "at the small but elegant village of Chusæ, in the Hermopolitan nome, they worshipped Venus under the name Urania (heavenly), and paid honours to a Cow, which animal was thought to appertain more particularly to that Goddess." It must, however, be observed, that the "latuit niveâ Saturnia Vaccâ," of Ovid, does not suffice to establish any analogy between Juno and the Egyptian Venus; and the monuments disprove the opinion of the learned Prichard, that "the Goddess *Nephthys* was sometimes called Urania, or the dark or nightly *Venus*, at other times Juno or Saturnia," and "that a white Cow was the sacred animal or living symbol of that Goddess."‡

Atarbechis, or the city of Athor, a part of Thebes called Pathyris, already mentioned, and several other places, vied with each other in the honours paid to the Egyptian Aphrodite; and at Dendera, the ancient Tentyris, a magnificent temple still remains, erected to her in the reigns of the last Ptolemies, and completed under Tiberius, where she is represented nursing her son, the third member of the Triad of the place. This is the temple of Aphrodite mentioned by Strabo. The

* Strabo, xvii. p. 556.
† Ælian, An. x. 27.
‡ Prichard, p. 148.

ATHOR

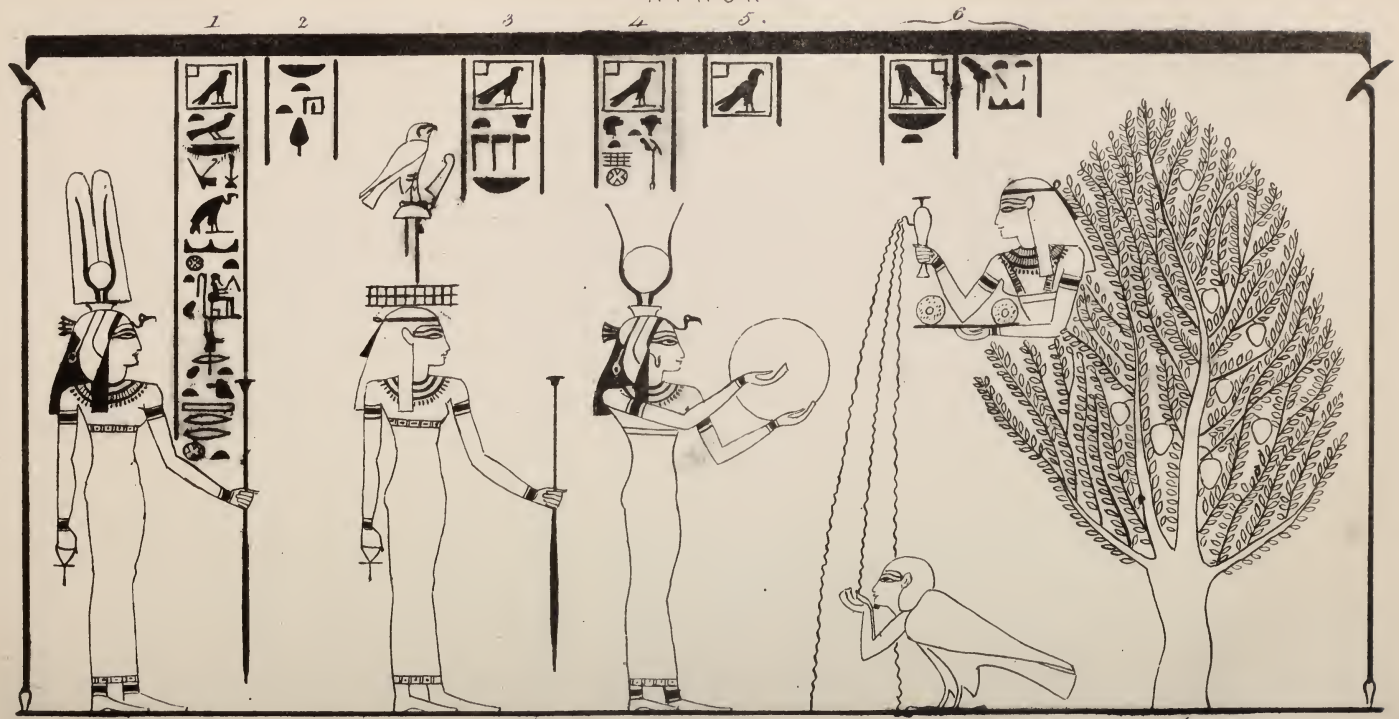


Fig. 1.

name of Tentyris may have signified the abode of Athor, and have been corrupted from Tei-ñ-athor, or Tynatyr, to Tentyra.

She is generally represented as a female with a head-dress surmounted with long horns*, and a solar disk; and between the horns of the spotted Cow, her emblem, are the same disk and two feathers. She sometimes bears on her head a perch, upon which is seated a hawk, with an ostrich feather before it, being the head-dress of the Genius or Goddess of the West. She is then in the character of president of the Western Mountain, and in an office particularly connected with the dead.

In temples of a Ptolemaïc epoch, Athor is often represented with the long feathers in addition to the horns and globe; but this is rarely the case on monuments of early Pharaonic date, where that head-dress is appropriated to the Queens, and only given to Athor when under the form of a Cow.

The Persea was sacred to her, as the Sycomore to Netpe; and in the funereal subjects of the Theban tombs, she is seen performing the same office to the deceased and his friends, as that Goddess, — giving them the fruit and drink of heaven. But the title "Lady of Het," bestowed on Athor at Thebes, Memphis, and other places, appears to signify "Lady of the tree," and not exclusively "of the Persea;" the same being applied to Netpe, to whom the Sycomore was sacred.

That the Persea and Peach were often con-

* The figure 1. of Part 2. of Plate 36. *a.* is from a Ptolemaïc temple.

founded by ancient authors, is very evident; and the fact of the former being the sacred tree, on whose fruit (which in the sculptures resemble the human heart) the Gods inscribed the name of a favourite King, sufficiently proves, that Plutarch* had in view the Persea, or, at least, the sacred tree of Athor, when he speaks of the fruit of the Peach tree resembling the heart, and the leaves being emblematic of "the human tongue." The analogy seems also to be increased by the circumstance of the Goddess of Speech (Language, or Letters) being present on the same occasion, and assisting to write the name of the prince on the fruit.

Athor sometimes, under the form of a Cow, gives milk to an infant King, — the hieroglyphic legend accompanying the picture stating that she treats him "as a mother." The female heads with Cow's ears, which form the capitals of columns at Aboosimbel, Dendera, and other temples, usually ascribed to Isis, are of the Egyptian Aphrodite; and many shrines, arks, and sacred emblems, are ornamented with the head of Athor. These heads are certainly the most beautiful which the Egyptian artists have invented. They argue in favour of Athor being the Goddess of Beauty, like the Venus of the Greeks; and some of the sculptures of Dendera may show her to have been the patron of laughter and amusements. From some subjects represented in the sculptures, it appears that this Goddess was considered to be the

* Plut. de Is. s. 68.

patroness of ornaments and dress, symbolically designated by a necklace. A peculiar neck ornament is sometimes surmounted by a head of Athor; being a form of that placed on the neck of sacred Cows and Bulls, and worn by some Deities.

The worship of the Cow in Egypt has led many persons to suppose an intimate connection between the religions of India and of that country; and the fact of some Sepoys in our Indian army, who crossed from the Red Sea to the Nile, having, on a visit to the temple of Dendera, prostrated themselves before the Cow of Athor*, has been considered a decisive proof of their resemblance. The mere circumstance, however, of a Cow being sculptured† on the walls of an Egyptian temple, and respect being paid to it by those strangers, proves nothing beyond the accidental worship in two countries of the same animal. Had it been an arbitrary emblem of some peculiar form, which only existed in the imagination, the case might have been different; but the Cow being chosen by two agricultural people, as the sword or any other arm by two military nations, as a fit emblem of the Deity, does not imply the necessity of any intercourse between them. Nor was it as a mere emblem that the cow and ox were selected by the Egyptians, in consequence of their utility in the tillage of the land;

* *Vide* Plate 35. *a*. Part 2. fig. 1.

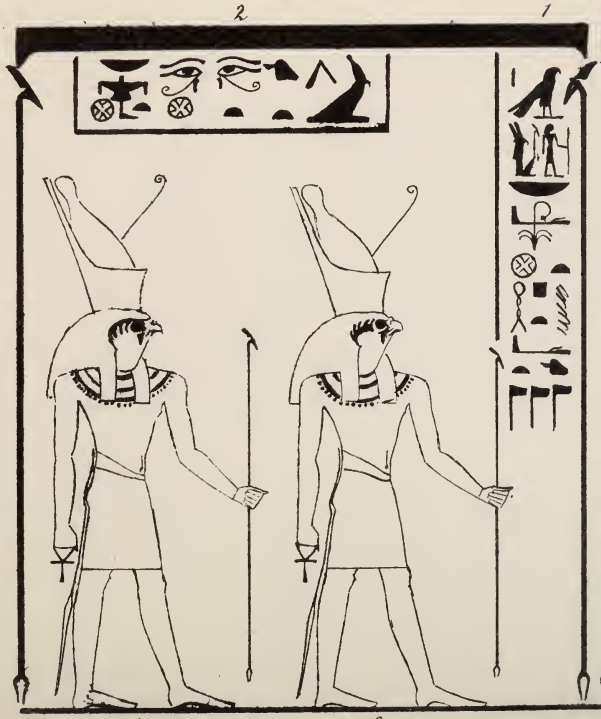
† Had the Sepoys visited the Cathedral of Durham, they might have looked with equal respect upon a sculptured group on the exterior of that building, and have concluded that we worshipped a God of their country. A Hindoo antiquary might even have written a learned paper to announce to his compatriots so remarkable a discovery.

another and a more forcible reason subsisted for the honours paid to the former, which is explained by Porphyry.* "The utility of cattle, and the smallness of their herds, induced the Egyptians to prohibit the slaughter of cows; therefore, though they killed oxen for the altar and the table, they abstained from the females, with a view to the preservation of the race, and the law deemed it a sacrilege to eat their meat." "The Egyptians and Phœnicians," he adds, "would rather feed on human flesh than the flesh of a heifer," in consequence, as St. Jerome observes, of the small stock of cattle in Palestine and the valley of the Nile; and a similar motive may originally have induced the Hindoos to venerate the Cow.

Instances sometimes occur of the Cow with a human head, wearing the Asp and horns of Athor.† The Goddess is also represented as a bird with a human head, wearing her disk and horns. She is then in a character connected with the virtuous souls who have been admitted to the regions of Amenti. To Athor also appears to have been dedicated one of the sacred fish of Egypt, which even bears her name in the hieroglyphic legend that accompanies it.‡

* Porph. de Abst. ii. 11.
† *Vide infrà*, the Offerings, at end of Chap. xv.; and Plate 82.
‡ *Vide infrà*, Chap. xiv., on the Fish.

AROERIS, or the ELDER HORUS.



PART 2.

HORUS.

PART 1.

Hor, Horus, the Son of Isis and Osiris *, or the Younger Horus, Apollo, The Warmth of the Sun.

The name of Younger Horus was given to this Deity, to distinguish him from Aroeris, the brother of Osiris, who was styled the Elder Horus. He was supposed to have come into the world soon after the birth of his parents, and on the death of Osiris to have stood forth as the avenger of his father; defeating Typho in several battles, and enabling Isis to thwart his evil intentions.

It was probably in consequence of his victories over the enemy of mankind, that he was so often identified with Apollo; the story of whose combat with the serpent Pytho is evidently derived from the Egyptian mythology†; and, indeed, the evil genius of his adversary is frequently figured under the form of a snake, whose head Horus is seen piercing with a spear. But this is not confined to Egyptian and Greek mythology. The same fable occurs in the religion of India, where the malignant serpent Caliya is slain by Vishnoo, in his avatar of Crishna; and the Scandinavian Deity Thor was said to have bruised the head of the Great Serpent with his mace. The origin of this may be readily traced to the Bible history.

The serpent pierced by the spear of Horus is

* *Vide* Plate 37. Horus.

† *Vide* Macrob. Saturn. i. 19. p. 131. for this fable, which he explains by the rays of the Sun overcoming the humidity of the earth.

evidently the Aphophis alluded to by Plutarch *, which, from the signification it bears in the Egyptian language, "the Giant," appears to have been the origin of the fable of the wars of the Gods and Giants. Horus generally stands in a boat accompanied by other Deities, while piercing the evil Being in the water, who is sometimes represented under the form of a man, though generally as a long serpent; calling to mind "the dragon in the sea," mentioned by Isaiah. †

The hawk of Horus is sometimes perched on the back of an oryx, whilst various Gods approach it in an attitude of prayer; but this is apparently of late date, and perhaps connected with astrological ‡ speculations. Aroeris, or the Elder Horus, may with equal reason be supposed to correspond to Apollo, if we may judge from the Greek dedications at Ombos and Apollinopolis parva, inscribed to "Aroeris, the Great Apollo." But the opinion of Herodotus §, that Horus the younger answered to that Deity, is of greater weight, from the connection subsisting between the Deity of the floating Isle of Buto and Apollo, who is shown by the fabulous history attached to him to be the son of Isis. "Latona," says the historian, "who lived at Buto, where her oracle now is, having been charged by Isis with the care of Apollo, concealed him in this Island. She preserved him there in safety, while

* Plut. de Is. s. 36. and 25. *Vide* Plate 42.

† Isai. xxvii. 1. "Leviathan that crooked serpent; and he shall slay the dragon that is in the sea."

‡ See the upper compartment of Plate 43. *a.*, where it also occurs.

§ Herodot. ii. 156. 144.

Typho was searching every where for the son of Osiris. For they say that Apollo and Diana are born of Bacchus (Osiris) and Isis, and that Latona was their nurse and preserver. Apollo is called Orus (Horus) in Egyptian; Ceres, Isis; and Diana, Bubastis." This appears to have been the origin of the fable respecting the Delos of the Greek Apollo, which floated on the sea till it was made stationary by Neptune in order to receive Latona, who was on the eve of being delivered of Apollo.

Diodorus* tells us that Apollo is the same as Horus, that the latter was taught the art of medicine by his mother Isis, and that he was the last of the Gods who were fabled to have reigned on earth; — a figurative tale, which I have already explained by the historical fact of the priesthood of different Gods having ruled Egypt before the monarchical form of government was established in the person of Menes and his successors.

Little reliance, however, is to be placed on what the Greeks tell us of the Deities of Egypt. The authority of Greek inscriptions in the temples should be preferred to that of Herodotus, Diodorus, Macrobius, or any other writers; but, unfortunately, some difficulty arises from the uncertainty of the hieroglyphic legends themselves, — and these even leave undecided the claims of Horus and Aroeris to the name of Apollo.

Plutarch† would lead us to conclude that the

* Diodor. i. 25. *Vide* also, Macrob. Saturn. i. 21. Ælian, x. 14. &c.
† Plut. de Is. s. 50.

city of Apollo was sacred to Horus; since "the solemn hunting of the crocodile, annually held there, commemorated the escape of Typho from the pursuit of Horus under the form of that animal." And as there is evidence of that city having been Apollinopolis magna (now Edfoo), it is probable that the God worshipped there, who answered to the Greek Apollo, was another character of Horus the son of Osiris, having the additional title and attributes of Hat, or Agathodæmon. Such is the uncertainty on this point, that the Deities of the two cities of Apollo do not appear to be the same,—one being Aroeris, and the other Hor-Hat, or Agathodæmon: Strabo even appears to mistake Mandoo* for Aroeris; and there is great confusion between the elder and younger Horus. This last and Harpocrates are not always easily separated, nor has Plutarch maintained a proper distinction between the elder and younger Horus; and he not only gives to both of these the name of Apollo†, but even to Harpocrates‡, whom he confounds with the elder Horus.

Horus, Aroeris, and Hor-Hat, are all represented with the head of a hawk§ crowned with the Pshent, or double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. But the peculiar and distinguishing title of the younger Horus is "the support or defender of his father,

* *Vide infrà*, Mandoo.
† Plut. de Is. s. 12.
‡ Plut. de Is. s. 54.
§ The hawk's head is also given to Rê, Mandoo, Pthah-Sokari-Osiris, Khonso, and Rebhnsnof.

Osiris*;" and to him the Kings of Egypt were likened, when, in the proclamation issued at the coronation, they were said to "put on the crown of Egypt like Horus, the son of Isis." A similarly complimentary formula is used in the Rosetta stone, relative to the benefits conferred on the country by Ptolemy Epiphanes, — the King being compared to "Horus, who assisted his father Osiris;" and these, with numerous other legends, show that Horus was the prototype of royalty, and the representative of divine Majesty.

It was this idea which obtained for him the post of director of the sacred boats; under which form was indicated "the Governor of the World," as we are told by Iamblichus†; and there can be little doubt that, from his occupation of steersman in the *baris* of the dead, were borrowed the name and office of Charon in the mythology of Greece.‡ The hieroglyphic legend accompanying the figure of Horus is the hawk, sometimes with a *line*, sometimes with the *flagellum of Osiris*, over it; — the same signs which are given to the child Harpocrates.

It is probable that an additional reason for supposing the Apollo of the Greeks the same as Horus, was owing to his being the son of Jupiter and grandson of Saturn, as the latter was son of

* In the fabulous interpretation of this story, Horus may be supposed to assist his father, the inundation, by forming the clouds carried to the sources of the river whence it proceeded. *Vide suprà*, p. 335.

† Iambl. de Myst. ch. 1. "When they introduce the Deity as pilot of a ship, they mean government, or the ruler of the world."

‡ *Vide infrà*, on the Funerals, Chap. xvi.

Osiris, the son of Seb; and the connection of the two Deities is confirmed by the name "Horapollo" borne by individuals; though it is true that this might, with equal justice, apply to the elder as to younger Horus.

Plutarch*, on the authority of Manetho, says, "The loadstone was called by the Egyptians the bone of Horus (Orus), as iron was the bone of Typho:" he also tells† us, that "the constellation of Orion was sacred to Horus, as the Dog-star to Isis;" and in another place‡, he mentions the allegorical and fanciful notion of "Horus being of a fair, as Typho was of a red, and Osiris of a black, complexion."

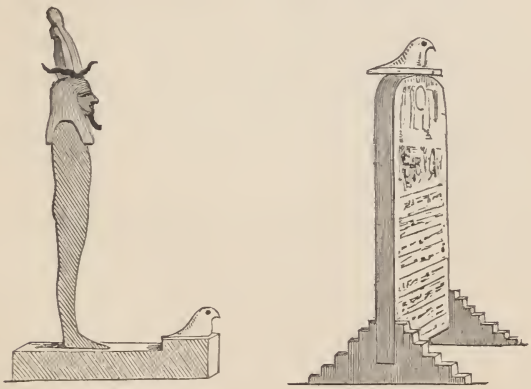
The same author states, that Horus signified that just and seasonable temperature of the circumambient air, which preserves and nourishes all things§; and that the festival celebrated on the 30th day of Epiphi, when the Sun and Moon were supposed to be in the same right line with the Earth, was called the birthday of Horus's eyes, — both those bodies being looked upon equally as the eyes or light of Horus.‖ This Deity was also reputed to have instituted the sacrifice to the Sun, which was celebrated on the 4th day of every month in honour of that luminary; and Horapollo even says that Horus was the Sun.¶

It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the remark of Suidas**, who says Horus was identical

* Plut. de Is. s. 62.
‡ Plut. de Is. s. 22.
‖ Plut. de Is. s. 52.
** Suidas, voc. Πριαπος.
† Plut de Is. s. 22.
§ Plut. de Is. s. 8.
¶ Horapollo, i. 317.

with Priapus, can only apply to a character given him at a late period; an instance* of which occurs at Dendera in sculptures of Roman time. But these are of little authority respecting the real forms of the Egyptian Deities; several innovations in the forms and attributes of the Gods having been introduced on the monuments of that æra, totally unauthorised by the sculptures of an ancient Pharaonic age.

One of the principal duties of Horus was that of introducing the souls of the dead into the presence of Osiris, after they had passed the ordeal of their final judgment. He also assisted Anubis in weighing and ascertaining their good conduct during life, previous to their admission into the august presence of his father, in the blessed regions of Amenti. The hawk placed on the wooden tablets in the tombs, and sometimes on the mummy case itself, was an emblem of Horus.



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No. 456. Wooden hawk of the tombs, an emblem of Horus.

* *Vide* Burton's Excerpta, Pl. 26.

The warlike character, as well as the name of Horus (or Orus), may also suggest a resemblance to Ares, the Mars of Greek mythology; and, indeed, Horapollo seems to have in view either Horus or Aroeris, when he says*, "To denote Ares and Aphrodite, the Egyptians delineate two hawks,"—since the hawk is the emblem both of Horus and Athor, the Egyptian Venus. This, however, could only be a partial analogy; since the God of War is represented under another distinct form, with the name Ranpo; and the weapons put into the hand of Horus only serve to prove his connection with the Apollo of Greece, the patron of the bow, the ἑκατηβολος και ἑκαεργος Απολλων, and the destroyer of the Serpent. If the Greeks assigned to Mars, Apollo, and Minerva, the use of destructive weapons, which might appear exclusively to belong to the Gods of War, the Egyptians in like manner extended the privilege to several Deities independent of their God Ranpo. The spear was given to Horus, and to Ao; the bow and arrows to Neith, to Sáté, and to Khemi, who also holds the battle-axe and spear; and the shield and arrows were not denied as an emblem to a Goddess who has the office of nurse.†

The fanciful notion of Diodorus, Macrobius, Horapollo, and others‡, that the ὡραι, *horæ*, "hours" and "seasons," received their name from Horus, because the Sun was so called by the Egyptians, is on a par with many other Greek ety-

* Horapollo, Hierog. i. 8.
† *Vide* Plate 65. Part 4.
‡ Diodor. i. 26. Macrob. Saturn. i. 26. Horapollo, i. 17.

mologies, with this difference,—that the Greeks usually derived the words of other languages from their own. The analogy between Horus and Ouro, "King," mentioned by Salmasius*, is remarkable, as Horus was the representative of Majesty among the Gods, and the hawk is put to designate a Pharaoh. But, as I have frequently had occasion to observe, it is from Re or Phrê (and not from Horus, or, as Josephus supposes, from *ouro*), that the word Phrah (Pharaoh) was derived.

The close affinity in some instances between Re (the Sun), and Horus, makes it difficult to distinguish between them, especially as the hawk is an emblem of both. But the hawk bearing on its head the Disk of the Sun belongs to Re; and that which wears the Pshent to Horus, the son of Osiris, (who, like Re, was the type of Majesty;) though, as already stated, this crown is sometimes appropriated by other hawk-headed Deities, as Aroeris, and Hor-Hat.

Hor-oeri, Aroeris, the Elder Horus, the Brother of Isis and Osiris, Phœbus, the Light of the Sun?.

I have noticed the difficulty which presents itself in deciding which of these Deities, the elder or younger Horus, corresponds to the Greek Apollo.

It is true that Aroeris is mentioned in the Greek dedication at Apollinopolis parva, as the Deity of the place, answering to Apollo; and the same

* *Vide* Jablonski, ii. 4. p. 222.

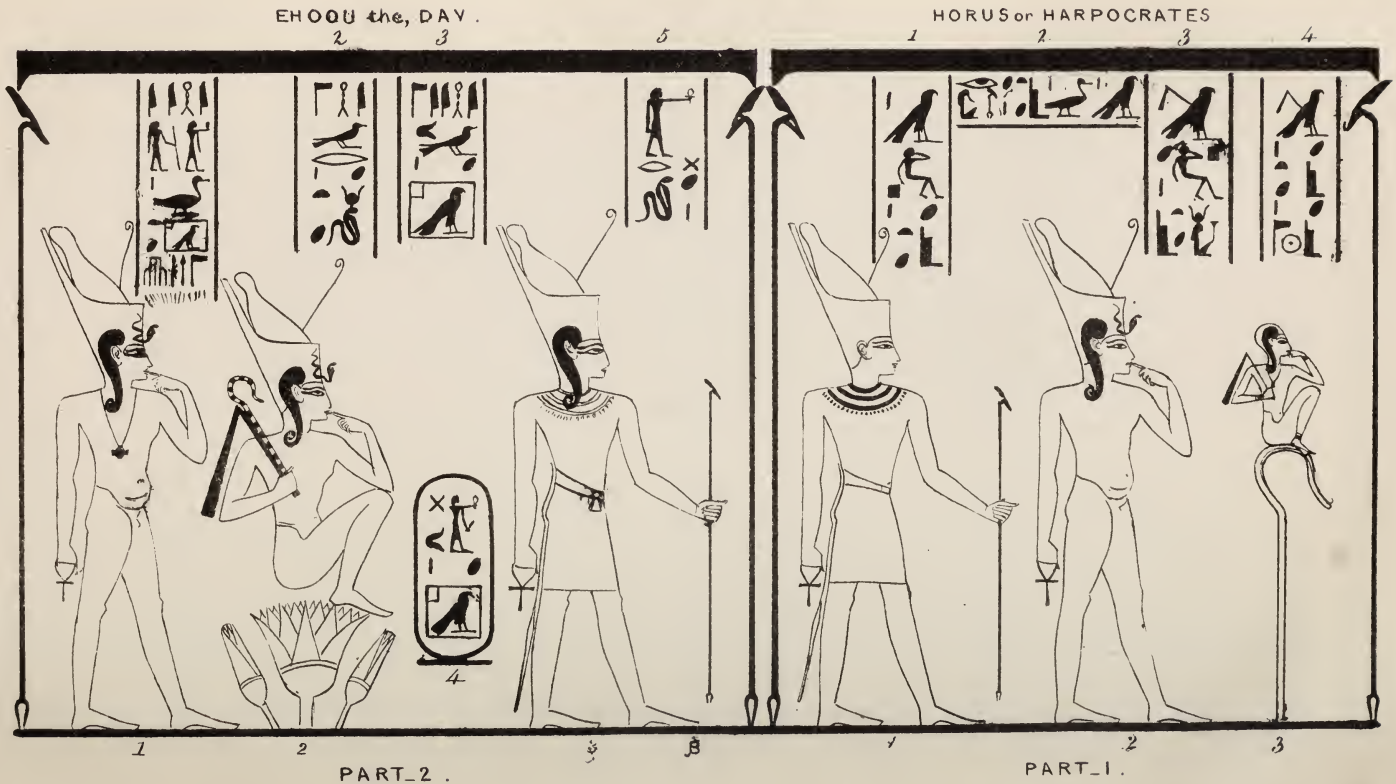
occurs again at Ombos, where he is figured as Horus, though not as the son of Osiris. But the many points of resemblance brought forward by Herodotus, Plutarch, and others, between Apollo and the son of Osiris, argue strongly in favour of the opinion that the younger Horus answers to the Greek Apollo.

Aroeris was son of Seb and Netpe; and in a hieroglyphic legend at Philæ he is styled son of Netpe, and represented under the singular form of a hieraco-sphinx. Plutarch thinks him to have had the Sun for his father, and to have been born on the second day of the Epact. Little more is related concerning him, nor does he appear to have acted a very prominent part in the mythological history of his brother Osiris.

In a papyrus published by M. Champollion, he is styled "Haroeri, Lord of the Solar Spirits, the beneficent Eye of the Sun;" and it is in this last sense that he appears to bear some analogy to Apollo, who, according to Plato, received his name from "the emission of the rays of light." Apollo and the Sun were distinct in the mythology of Greece*; and it is probable that the Egyptians separated the light from the heat, and perhaps even from the splendor of the Sun; considering it in the various characters to which I have already alluded.† Hor-oeri, or Aroeris, may be considered the eye and light‡, or the splendor and brightness of the

* *Vide suprà*, p. 298. † *Suprà*, p. 299.

‡ This cannot fail to call to mind the *aor*, "light," of the Hebrews; though not resembling the Egyptian word of the same meaning.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PART_2.
HORUS or HARPOCRATES
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PART_1.

Sun, like the Greek Phœbus; and if his connection with Re is not sufficiently obvious, the statements of Greek writers, added to the testimony of dedicatory inscriptions at Ombos and Apollinopolis parva, authorise this opinion, while the younger Horus may enjoy an undisputed claim to the character of Apollo.

Hor-phocrat?, Harpocrates, the Infant Horus.

Harpocrates was born of Isis after the death of her husband, and is therefore distinct from Horus, her elder son by Osiris, who is said at that time to have been engaged in war with Typho. Plutarch tells us*, that "Harpocrates, being the offspring of the intercourse of Osiris with Isis after his death, and having come into the world before his time, was lame in his lower limbs." This allegorical fable he explains† by interpreting "Harpocrates, whom she brought forth about the time of the winter solstice, to be those weak and tender shootings of the corn, which are as yet feeble and imperfect; for which reason the Egyptians dedicate the first-fruits of their lentils to this God, and celebrate the feast of his mother's delivery just after the Vernal Equinox." "We must not, however," he adds‡, "really look upon Harpocrates as an infant and imperfect Deity, or as the young and tender shoots of the pulse, but rather as the governor and rectifyer

* Plut. de Is. s. 19. † Plut. de Is. s. 65.
‡ Plut. de Is. s. 68.

of those weak, incomplete notions, which we are apt to form of the divine nature. For which reason, we see him described with his finger pointing to his mouth, — a proper emblem of that modest and cautious silence we ought to observe in these matters. So, when they offer him the first-fruits of their lentils in the month Mesoré, they at the same time exclaim, 'The tongue is Fortune, the tongue is God:' and hence it is, that, of all Egyptian plants, the peach tree is looked upon peculiarly sacred to Harpocrates; because of the resemblance observed between its fruit and the heart, and between its leaves and the human tongue." There is, however, reason to believe that this is one of the many errors with which the accounts of Greek writers abound. The peach tree (unless it be the same as Persea) was not sacred to any Deity; and it is evident that he had in view the holy tree of Athor, whose fruit, as represented in the sculptures, so strongly resembles the heart.*

Harpocrates is represented as an infant nursed by Isis, or with his finger to his mouth, having a lock of hair falling from the side of his head. The same figure is commonly employed by the Egyptians to indicate a child. He is generally in a sitting posture; instances, however, occur of his standing upright, and walking alone, or at the side of his mother. The lock of hair, the distinguishing mark of a child, though one of his principal characteristics, is not confined to Harpocrates: it

* *Vide suprà*, p. 392.

is given to the young members of other Egyptian triads, as Ehôou, Hor-sened-to, Pneb-to, Hor-piré, Harka, and Haké, who in form and general attributes are similar to the child of Isis. It is also worn by Khonso, the offspring of Amun and Maut, in the great Theban triad; and the priest who officiates in the leopard-skin dress, even though he be the King himself, assumes this badge of youth, probably emblematic of that spotless innocence with which it became the supreme Pontiff to approach the presence of the Gods.

I have occasionally met with Harpocrates wearing round his neck a vase, the emblem of Thmei, the Goddess of Truth; which probably refers to "the amulet," said by Plutarch* to have been "worn by Isis at the time she brought him into the world, which was reported to mean 'speaking the truth.'"

As the child of Isis, he may represent *youth* in general: and when seated in Hades before Osiris, or in the sepulchral chambers containing the sarcophagi of the dead, he is the symbol of resuscitation, or new birth. This alludes to the change of state which every one undergoes at his death, purporting that dissolution is only the cause of reproduction†; that nothing perishes which has once existed‡; and that things which appear to be destroyed, only change their natures and pass into another form. The same idea is probably repeated

* Plut. de Is. s. 68.

† *Vide suprà*, p. 218. 315.; and *infrà*, p. 437. 439.

‡ "Θνησκει δ' ουδεν των γιγνομενων," of the Chrysippus of Euripides. Conf. Plato, Phædo. "The living are generated from the dead, no less than the dead from the living." p. 280. Trans. Taylor.

in the triad (so often found in the tombs made of blue pottery or other composition), consisting of Isis, Nephthys, and Harpocrates, which I suppose to signify the beginning, the end, and reproduction after death.* It may also be traced in what Macrobius says of the mode of representing the Sun by an image having a lock of hair, on the right side of its head, which was emblematic of the reappearance of that luminary† after it was concealed from our sight at its setting; or of the return of the Sun to the solstice."‡ But this seems rather to apply to the God Ehôou.

In some monuments of the late date of the Ptolemies and Cæsars, Harpocrates is represented seated on a throne, supported by lions, and even placed upon the backs of those animals§; which cannot fail to call to mind the remark of Horapollo‖, that "the Egyptians put lions under the throne of Horus, — this being their name for the Sun:" though he is wrong in supposing the Sun to be the same as Horus. Harpocrates is called "Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris;" but there is no trace of the termination *pocrates* in the hieroglyphic legends.

The notion respecting his being the God of Silence appears to be of Greek origin: for, as I have

* The supposed connection in Hebrew between Mout, "death," and Maut, "mother," is an erroneous notion; since the latter is Om or Am, and not Maut.

† Macrob. Saturn. i. 26. "Rursum emergendi uti capillos habere substantiam."

‡ Macrob. Saturn. i. 26. "Rursus emergens ad æstivum hæmisphærium tanquam enascens in augmenta porrigitur."

§ *Vide* Rosellini, Pl. 18. ‖ Horapollo, i. 17.

already observed*, the Egyptians did not indicate it by the finger, but by placing the whole hand over the mouth. The position of Harpocrates's finger, therefore, appears rather to refer to a habit common to children in all times and in every country: and that the form of his body, with a prominent abdomen, was aptly chosen to indicate extreme youth, is sufficiently proved by the appearance of Egyptian children at the present day.

Instances occur of Harpocrates with the cap and feathers of Amun; but as these are bronze statues, and unaccompanied by hieroglyphics, there is no possibility of ascertaining the exact character he bore when so represented.

The connection between Harpocrates, as well as other of these infant Deities, and the God, generally called Typhonian, whom I have supposed to represent Death, is very remarkable. But I shall treat of it more fully in another place, when describing the attributes and character of that Deity.

EHÔOU, THE DAY.

The form and attributes of this youthful Deity are similar to those of Harpocrates, from whom the hieroglyphic legends alone distinguish him. He is the third member of the triad of Dendera, and son of Athor, by whom he is nursed. This Goddess, in the character of mother of an infant, appears to have borrowed the attributes of Isis; but the same office is assumed by other Goddesses.

* *Suprà*, Vol. III. p. 46.

Athor occurs again at Edfoo as the mother of Hor-sened-to, her son by Hor-Hat; and Nebou, a form of Neith, is at Esneh the mother of the young Haké.

Like Harpocrates, and other of these infant Deities, he is represented with his finger to his mouth, the sign of extreme youth; and he is sometimes represented sitting on the flower of a Lotus. He is then supposed to signify the Sun in the winter solstice, or the rising Sun; and the crook and flagellum, the emblems of Osiris, which he sometimes carries, may be intended to indicate the influence he is about to exercise upon mankind. The vase from which the plant grows is a lake of water, and the usual initial of the word *ma* or *moo*, "water."

"They do, indeed," says Plutarch*, "characterise the rising Sun as though it sprang every day afresh out of the lotus plant; but this implies, that to moisture we owe the first kindling of this luminary." I may, however, venture to offer another interpretation, suggested both by the allegory itself, as well as by his hieroglyphical name Ehôou, — that he corresponds to the day or morning; and in this character he may answer to Aurora. Some might perhaps apply to him the name Phosphorus, which seems to accord with an inscription mentioned by Jablonski, —

> "Bono Deo
> *Puero* Phosphoro †:"

* Plut. de Is. s. 11.

† Jablonski, ii. 6. p. 256.

but he was distinct from Venus, or the Morning Star.*

The resemblance, indeed, between Ehôou, or Peho, "*the day*," in Egyptian, and Eôs, the Greek Aurora, is sufficiently striking: and if for the "*Sun*" rising every morning from a lotus flower, we substitute the "*day*," we find the remark of Plutarch justly applies to this Deity: and we may readily pardon his error in mistaking him for Harpocrates, whom he so much resembles.

It may, then, be supposed that he represents the *day;* and he is with justice considered the child of Athor, or *night*, from which every new day was supposed to spring.

I must, in conclusion, make this remark on the lotus plant on which he is represented seated, — that it is always the Nymphæa Lotus, and in no instance the Nelumbo. And though this last is mentioned by several ancient authors among the plants of Egypt, it is never introduced into the sculptures as a sacred emblem, nor, indeed, as a production of the country; a fact which goes far to disprove one of the supposed analogies of the Egyptian and Indian objects of veneration. With regard to the common lotus, so frequently represented as a favourite flower in the hands of the Egyptians (as the rose or others might be in the hands of any modern people), there is no evidence of its having been sacred, much less an object of worship, though it is an emblem of the God Nofre-Atmoo.

* *Vide suprà*, p. 387.

Hor-Hat, Hat, Agathodæmon.

As there appears to be some connection between this Deity and Horus, I introduce him with the members of the family of Seb.

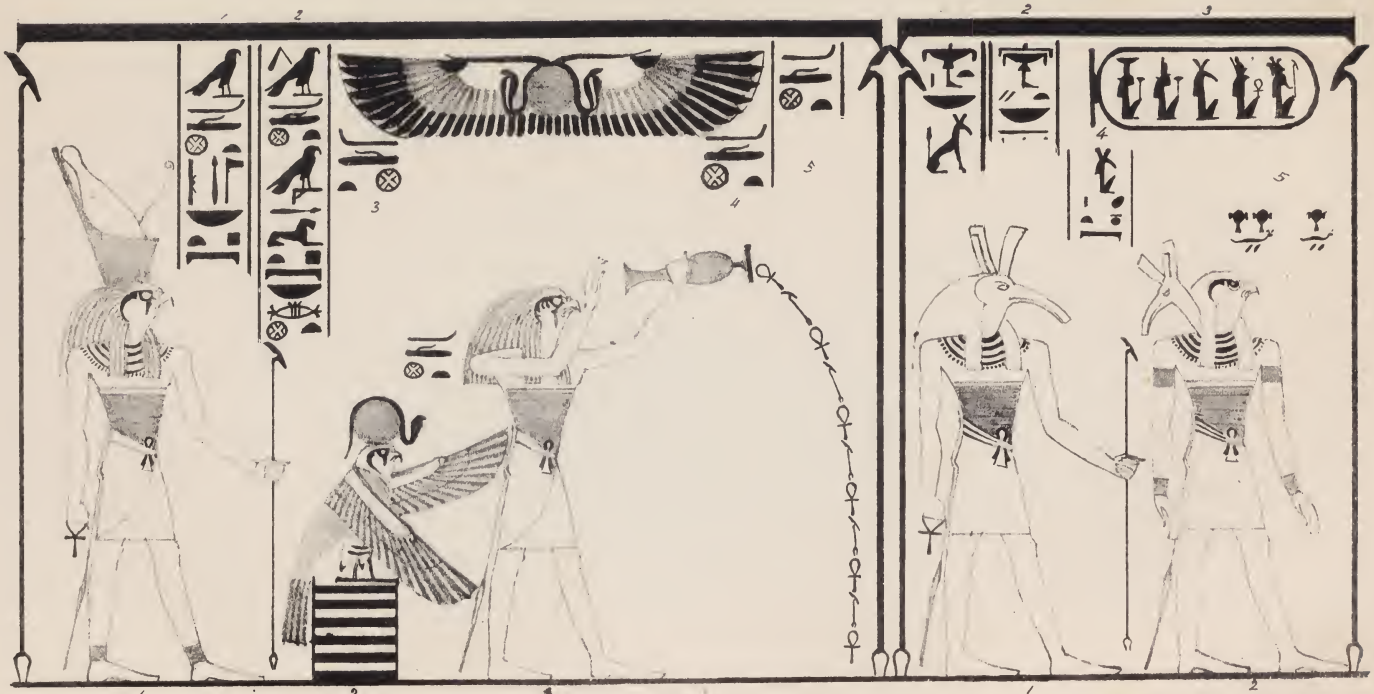
Hat, or Agathodæmon, was the Good Genius, under whose protection the persons of the Kings and the temples of the Gods were placed. In the form of a Sun supported by two asps and outspread vultures' wings, he occurs over the doorways and façades of buildings. Sometimes he is represented as a winged Scarabæus, supporting a globe or Sun with its fore feet; as a hawk, he hovers over the Monarch while offering sacrifices in the temples, or on other occasions; and as a Deity of human shape, with a hawk's head, he pours alternate emblems of life and power over the Prince at his coronation.

In this office he is assisted by the God Nilus, Thoth, or Ombte; one of whom, placed opposite him, pours a stream of similar emblems from another vase over the King who stands between them. His place is sometimes taken by one of those Deities. When opposed to Ombte, he appears to represent the Upper, as the latter the Lower, Country. He also assists in binding the throne of the Monarch with the stalks of water plants, in company with Nilus, or with Thoth,—one using those emblematic of the Upper, the other of the Lower, Country. The ceremony itself refers to the dominion of the King over Upper and Lower Egypt.*

* *Vide infrà*, the God Nilus.

HOR-HAT.

ÔBTE OR OMBTE.



PART. 1.

PART_2.

When represented as a man, with a hawk's head, he appears to be related to the Agathodæmon of the Phœnicians; which, according to Eusebius, was supposed (though erroneously) to be the same as Neph, with "the head of a hawk." In the character of the winged globe, he unites the attributes of Re, Neph, and Maut, — the Sun, asp, and vulture's wings. He may then be said more particularly to deserve the name of the Good Genius; though, as I have already observed, the Agathodæmon, which presided over the affairs of men as the guardian spirit of their houses, was the Asp of Ranno*; according with another statement of Eusebius†, that Agathodæmon was figured under the form of a serpent.

The winged globe may perhaps call to mind the "land shadowing with wings‡;" as the figures kneeling at either end of the sacred arks, or boats, recall the winged Seraphim.

The name of this Deity is written Hat, when under the form of a hawk, and of the winged globe, in attendance on the Kings; and when under the name and character of Hor-Hat, he usually wears the Pshent, or crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, which seems to connect him with Horus. He is sometimes represented with wings, holding a spear, and crowned with the Pshent of Horus; but this is in temples of a Ptolemaïc æra.

He frequently appears at Dendera, and also in the oldest temples, in all these characters; and

* *Vide suprà*, p. 239.; and *infrà*, on Ranno.
† Euseb. Prepar. Evangel. i. 10. ‡ Isai. xviii. 1.

the temple of Edfoo, or Apollinopolis magna, being dedicated to him, seems to give him a claim to the name of Apollo.* At this last place, an instance occurs of the God Hor-Hat with the head of a Lion and the Solar disk, holding a monkey in his hand. He stands in a boat; and before him Thoth, Isis, Nephthys, and two other Goddesses, raise their hands in an attitude of prayer, while Horus pierces the head of Aphophis with a spear.

Ombte, Obte, Abtaut, Ombo (Tithrambo?, Taut-ambo?), Ambo, Embon, The Evil Being.

This Deity is sometimes represented, as already observed, in company with, and in the same office as, the last mentioned God, pouring the emblems of life and power over the Kings, in the place of Thoth; and in teaching them the use of the bow†, together with the same hawk-headed God, Hor-Hat. It might appear that Ombte was connected with the Lower Country‡, as Hor-Hat with Upper Egypt, to whom he was opposed. For, in the ceremony of the Panegyrics, where the King is represented running to the temple to perform the accustomed rites, we find this Deity introduced on the side of the picture, corresponding to Lower Egypt, with all the emblems of that part of the country, as the asp, the Northern water plant, and the Genius of Lower Egypt; the King also wearing the cap of that district. But Ombte generally has,

* *Vide suprà*, p. 398.
† *Vide* Plate 39.
‡ *Vide* Plate 79.

THE GODS INSTRUCTING THE KING IN THE USE OF THE BOW. KARNAK

in his hieroglyphic legend, the title "Lord of the region of the *Upper* Country," as is the case even in the subject to which I have above alluded, though accompanied by the emblems of *Lower* Egypt. This, then, may be intended to indicate the combined protection of the Deities of both regions.

In the cartouches of Osirei and other Pharaohs, his figure is introduced as a substitute for Osiris; probably in consequence of his name commencing with the same letter, O or A, but not, as some have been disposed to think, from his being one of the characters of Osiris. I have supposed, from the hieroglyphics, that he was called Ombte, Obte, Ombo, or Abtaut; but there is some uncertainty respecting their alphabetic value; and the first character being the same as in the word Ombos, may require his name to read Ombte, or Ombo. He appears, both from his name and character, to be the Deity mentioned by Jablonski under the name of Ambo, or Embon*, the same as Tithrambo (Taut-Ambo?), but distinct from the Egyptian Hecate. In the hieroglyphic legends on the monuments†, he is shown to have been the son of Netpe; on the Wooden Cubits found at Memphis, the names of Seb and Netpe are followed by Osiris, Isis, Ombte, Nephthys, and Aroeris; and I have met with a group of figures‡, representing the family

* *Vide* Jablonski, Panth. Ægypt. i. c. 5. s. 2. He attaches to the name the meaning of anger, which is the sense of *embon* or *mbon* in Coptic.

† An instance of this occurs on the Obelisk of Luxor, at Thebes.

‡ On a seal in the possession of Chevalier Kestner, the Hanoverian minister at Rome.

of Netpe, in which he occurs with Osiris, Aroeris*, Isis, and Nephthys, as the third son of that Goddess. This agrees with the statement of Plutarch†, that Osiris was born on the first, Aroeris on the second, Typho on the third, Isis on the fourth, and Nephthys on the fifth day.

Hence it is evident that the Deity before us was one of the characters of Typho, and the reason of his figure being erased on almost all the monuments where it occurs, was owing to the hatred with which they viewed the Evil Being he represented; though, as I shall have occasion to show, the good and bad principles were viewed with a different feeling by the philosophers of early times. He is figured under a human form, having the head of a quadruped with square topped ears, which some might have supposed to represent an Ass with clipped ears, if the entire animal did not too frequently occur to prevent this erroneous conclusion. That it was an imaginary creature is evident, from its form, and from being placed at Beni Hassan with Sphinxes‡ and other fanciful animals; all conjecture is therefore useless, both regarding its name and the reason for which it was selected.

* This Deity wears the Pshent like Horus.

† Plut. de Is. s. 12.

‡ The Sphinx was chosen as an emblem of the King, and was intended to imply the union of physical and intellectual force, by its body of a lion, and its human head; or, as Clement of Alexandria says, the "union of force, with prudence or wisdom," αλκης τε αυ μετα συνεσεως ἡ σφιγξ, Strom. 5. He runs into the usual error of considering the Sphinx female; the Egyptians making it invariably male, which is consistent with its being a representative of the King.

Had the head of this Deity been that of the Ass, its adoption would have suited the character of the Evil Being, and have accorded with the statement of Plutarch, who says the Egyptians considered that animal emblematic of Typho. "Hence the Coptites have the custom* of throwing an ass down a precipice; and the inhabitants of Busiris and Lycopolis carry their detestation of it so far as never to make use of trumpets, fancying that their sound is similar to the braying of an Ass. Indeed, this animal is generally regarded by them as unclean, on account of its supposed resemblance to Typho; for which reason, the cakes offered with their Sacrifices, during the two months Paüni and Phaophi, have the impression of an Ass bound, stamped upon them."

Even if the entire quadruped itself were not present to decide this point, their mode of representing animals was too accurate to admit of such a misconception; and a figure with the head of an ass represented among the numerous Genii in the temple of Tuôt, or Tuphium, suffices to show the marked distinction between it and the one before us.

The inaccuracy of Greek writers presents considerable difficulty in deciding upon any point not elucidated by the Egyptian monuments. We are told that Typho was the name of the Evil Being, who was the son of Netpe, and brother of Osiris. But, judging from the hieroglyphic legends, there is

* Plut. de Is. s. 30.

reason to believe Typho to be a female Deity, apparently distinct from the Evil Being who was the persecutor of Osiris; and we are unable to trace in the name of Ombte, or Abtaut, any of the titles, Sêth, Bebo, Babys*, or Smy†, given by Plutarch to Typho. On this last point, however, I shall not insist, since the force of the hieroglyphics‡ composing it is not positively ascertained; but we may be certain that the name Typho was not applied to this Deity, though he fulfilled the office of the Evil Being opposed to the good Osiris, his brother, and answered in every respect to the character of the third son of Netpe.

It appears that the Egyptian Mythology acknowledged two Deities, who answered to the description given by the Greeks of Typho; — one, who was the son of Netpe, and was opposed to his brother Osiris, as the bad to the good principle; the other bearing the name of Typho, and, answering to that part of his character which represents him as the opponent of Horus.

From the constant and almost universal erasure of his figure, the Egyptians seem to have looked upon this Deity as a hateful being, the enemy of mankind. But the offices he sometimes bore, the presentation of prayers and offerings, and the respect frequently paid to him in temples of the oldest periods, where he occurs as one of the contemplar Gods, show that his character was not

* *Vide* Athen. Deipn. lib. xv. p. 680.
† Plut. de Is. s. 62. 49.
‡ He sometimes seems to have a title similar to Seth.

always the same as ascribed by us to the wicked Satan; but an abstract notion of what was hurtful and bad, acting in opposition to the good, yet still necessary to mankind, and part of the system ordained by the divine intellect. "For the harmony of the world," as Heraclitus observes*, "like that of a harp, is made up of discords, consisting of a mixture of good and evil;" and Euripides says, "Good and evil cannot be separated from each other, though they are so tempered as to produce beauty and order." If such was the opinion of the Egyptians, we are not surprised to find that sacrifices were offered to the bad principle, as though his votaries considered themselves benefited by his interposition. And it is probable that they so viewed the connection between the good and bad, as to consider that nothing injurious to mankind was not ordained for a good purpose; that virtue even was a vice, when carried to an extreme; and that no bad quality of the mind could not be turned to a good purpose, if properly tempered by the judgment and understanding. These ideas may be obscurely hinted at, in the emblematic figure of this Deity with the head of a hawk added to his own, as though it represented the union of his attributes with those of Horus, or of Osiris.†

The same may also be traced in the office performed by this Deity, in company with Horus, of placing the crown on the head of the King; or with Hor-Hat (Agathodæmon), of pouring over

* Plut. de Is. s. 45.
† *Vide* Plate 38. Part 2. fig. 2.

him, from a vase, the emblems of life and purity. This ceremony might imply, that during his life, and the distinguished career he had entered upon, even the Monarch himself could only expect, in the ordinary course of events, an alternation of good and bad fortune; and that he ought, therefore, unceasingly to appeal to the protection of the Gods, who alone could avert calamities and insure his happiness.

In the mythological history of Osiris, there is one person who, from having the double character of a friend and an enemy of the Gods, bears a resemblance to the Deity before us. This is Antæus. Even his name, which, without the Greek termination, is reduced to Antæ, may not appear to disagree with the Egyptian Ombte.

According to Diodorus *, when Osiris undertook his expedition from Egypt, in order to visit and dispense benefits to the different countries of the world, he left Isis in charge of the affairs of his kingdom, aided by the counsels of Mercury. Hercules was appointed generalissimo of Egypt; Busiris, of the sea coast, with the parts adjacent to Phœnicia; and Antæus, of the Æthiopian and Libyan districts. After the death of Osiris, his murderer Typho was defeated by Isis and Horus, at a spot on the Arabian side of the river, near to the village of Antæus, so called from the Antæus whom Hercules punished during the life-time of Osiris. Whence it appears that Typho and Antæus

* Diodor. i. 17. 21.

were the enemies of the good Deities Osiris and Hercules. Antæus, however, was admitted into the Egyptian Pantheon; temples were erected to him; and the city of Antæopolis, the capital of a nome of the same name*, and the successor of the village mentioned by Diodorus, acknowledged the God whose name it bore.

In this we perceive the origin of the fable respecting the Giant Antæus, in Greek mythology†; of which, however, I do not stop to inquire the meaning. It is of little moment, if Antæus, according to one of the many allegories devised for explaining the story of the wars of the Gods, represented the sand of the desert, and was thence reputed to be the offspring of the Earth. The only point of importance for my present object is the double character of Antæus, like that of the God Ombte, which I think clearly established, and the error of the Greeks, who confounded the latter Deity with Typho, may be readily accounted for, by the connection between Typho and Antæus, in the account given by Diodorus.

At Gau, the ancient Antæopolis, a temple, till lately, stood on the banks of the Nile; but the last standing column was swept away by the river in 1821; and we have now lost the only monument which could decide this interesting question, to confirm or disprove the identity of Ombte and Antæus.

* Plin. v. 9.

† Juv. iii. 89. Pindar, Pyth. ix. 185. Luc. Phars. iv. 615. Strabo, xvii. p. 570. ed. Cas. Plin. v. 1.

Sufficient proof exists of the possibility of the same Deity being looked upon in two different characters; and Plutarch has given * some of the various theories respecting the two principles. "Some," he says, "assert that there are two Gods of two contrary offices, — one the cause of all that is good in the world, the other of all that is evil. Others, again, call the good principle only God, — giving the name of Dæmon to the Evil Being, — in which number is Zoroaster the Mage, who is reported to have lived 5000 years before the Trojan War. That philosopher named the good principle Oromazes (Ormusd), and the evil one Arimanius (Ariman); between whom he supposed another intermediate being, called Mithras, considered by the Persians the Mediator. He also taught, that sacrifices for future or thanks for past benefits were to be offered to the Good Being, as those for the purpose of averting misfortunes to the evil one.

"In the writings of Empedocles, the good principle is sometimes defined by the name of Love and Friendship, and frequently by that of sweet-looking Harmony; the evil one being denominated pernicious Enmity and Strife. By the Pythagoreans, the good one is called 'the Unit, the Definite, the Fixed, the Straight, the Odd, the Square, the Equal, the Dexterous, and the Lucid;' and the evil one, 'the Duad, the Indefinite, the Moveable, the Crooked, the Even, the Oblong, the Unequal, the Sinistrous, the Dark.' Anaxagoras

* Plut. de Is. s. 46. *et seq.*

styles the one Intelligence, the other Infinity; and Aristotle describes them by the names of Form and Privation. Plato, in his books of laws, observes that 'this world is not moved by one soul only, but perhaps by many,—certainly not fewer than two; one of whom is of a benevolent disposition, and the author of every thing that is good; whilst the other is of a contrary turn of mind, and the author of every thing that is evil.' In the Egyptian theory, we are to understand by Osiris, the faculties of the universal soul, such as intelligence and reason; and in the general system of matter, whatever is regular, permanent, and salutary, such as orderly seasons, a due temperament of the air, and the stated revolutions of the heavenly bodies. But those powers of the universal soul which are subject to the influence of passions; and in the material system, whatever is noxious, as irregular seasons, bad air, eclipses of the Sun and Moon; are ascribed to Typho." "Upon the whole, however, Osiris, or the good principle, has the superiority; which seems likewise to have been the opinion both of Plato and Aristotle."*

Looking, therefore, upon the bad as a necessary part of the universal system, and inherent in all things equally with the good, the Egyptians treated the Evil Being with divine honours, and propitiated him with sacrifices and prayers. It is not, however, impossible that they may have looked upon this Deity with different feelings in later times, and have ceased to pay him the respect he formerly enjoyed. During the 18th and 19th Dynasties, and

* Plut. de Is. s. 59.

perhaps long after that period, he continued to receive the homage of numerous votaries; but subsequently a general feeling of hatred seems to have sprung up against him, and his figure was erased from the sculptures. This does not appear to have been done in a systematic manner, as the result of a general order given by the priesthood to that effect, but in a moment of anger, as would be the case when the people acted from sudden impulse, or excitement. It therefore happens that the figure sometimes escaped this indignity; which could not have been the case, had the careful scrutiny of the priesthood been employed to detect and deface it.

There is some difficulty in ascertaining the exact time when the erasure took place. The monuments of the later Dynasties offer few of the subjects in which this Deity usually took part. It is not, therefore, right to conclude that he had then ceased to be worshipped as in olden times: and, indeed, there is so much uncertainty on this head, that we are not sure if the erasure was the work of the Egyptians or of the early Christians. But this last is far from probable, since they could have had no reason to respect or hate any particular Deity of a Pagan temple.

If so marked an aversion for his figure really indicates a change in the feelings of the Egyptians towards this Deity, it is possible that it may have had some connection with the invasion of Persia, — the God having fallen into disgrace in consequence of that event; as the Roman Deities were sometimes

punished for their supposed neglect of the interests of their votaries.* But it is evident that it could not date at the early period of the Exodus, since the temple of Remeses III. alone suffices to show he was in favour long after that event.

Whether owing to a change in the religious fancies of the Egyptians, or to any other cause, it is not a singular instance. We have already noticed the erasure and substitution of hieroglyphics in the name of Amun: and though the Egyptians were great conservatives in their religious institutions, some innovations were introduced during the long period of their history. Nor can any one suppose that the accessories of their religion underwent no modifications, that the simplicity of the early worship had not many new ideas engrafted upon it, and that speculative theories did not from time to time increase the number of the Egyptian Gods.†

I am even disposed to think that a change of this kind might proceed from another cause: that good and bad, which were viewed abstractedly at one period, were afterwards treated literally; nothing then remaining but the mere opposition of Osiris and Typho, the positively good and the positively bad Being, — the one all that was beneficial, the other all that was noxious to mankind. If the one was the Nile, which fertilised the country; the

* Like the modern Italian saints. Witness San Gennaro and others. This was also the case in Egypt, as Plutarch tells us, with the sacred animals. Plut. de Is. s. 73. *Vide infrà*, on the Sacred Animals, Chap. xiv.

† *Vide suprà*, p. 165. 212.

other was the desert, which destroyed all vegetable life: and they no longer entertained the opinions of those earlier philosophers, who contended that good and bad formed part of one great principle; that evil proceeded from good, as good from evil; and that both were intended for the benefit of mankind.

It was not until men considered the bad distinctly separate from the good, in a positive and literal sense, that Typho was treated as the enemy of man. Such was the idea entertained by the Roman votaries of Osiris. There is even reason to believe that a similar change in the sentiments of the Egyptians towards this Deity is hinted at by Plutarch*, when he says,—"It is evident they hold Typho in great abhorrence, though they still make offerings to him, as if to console him for the loss of his power, which had become less formidable than formerly." "It was in consequence," he adds, "of their hatred of Typho, that they treated with ignominy those persons who, from the redness of their complexions, were imagined to bear a resemblance to him†;" and, "from a similar notion, they made choice of red oxen in their sacrifices." The "Ass was also selected as an appropriate emblem of the Evil Deity, from its being usually of that colour." Diodorus‡ even asserts, that "men of red complexions were formerly sacrificed to Osiris, in consequence of their supposed resemblance to Typho;" though this may be reasonably doubted, as so many

* Plut. de Is. s. 30.
† *Vide infrà*, on the Sacrifices, Chap. xv. ‡ Diodor. i. 88.

tales related by the Greeks respecting the customs of the Egyptians.

The supposed birthday of Typho was, in like manner, looked upon as inauspicious; and "accordingly, on the third day of the Epact, the Kings neither transacted any business, nor even suffered themselves to take any refreshment till the evening." *

If it appears singular that this hatred of the Evil Being did not prevent their propitiating him on certain occasions, the custom is not confined to the Egyptians; far less speculative people have adopted it even to the present day; and philosophers have offered many conflicting opinions on the abstract theory of the good and bad, the origin of sin, and the power, cause, and nature of evil.

The fact of the figure of this Deity being so generally erased, and the change in the name of Amun, go far to prove that certain innovations took place in the religious theories of the Egyptians; and if we could discover earlier monuments than those which now remain, we might find the number of Deities more limited than in the time even of the 18th Dynasty.

From what has been said it appears, 1°. That the Evil Being was admitted, in early times, to divine honours.

2°. That these were discontinued from some calamity befalling the country, or from the good and bad being made entirely distinct.

* Plut. de Is. s. 12. *Vide suprà*, p. 210. It is singular that the name "Typhon" (Tiphoon) was applied to a "sudden whirlwind" in former times (Plin. ii. 48.), as at the present day; and that Tuphán is the Arabic name of the Deluge.

3. That the Evil Being, though the brother of Osiris, had not the name of Typho; this being given to a different Deity, who was opposed to Horus, as were another Typhonian monster, and the Serpent Aphôphis.

Mr. Cory * is disposed to think this figure with square ears represented the Patriarch Joseph. But the fact that the Egyptians never admitted human beings into the order of Gods, the improbability of so great an honour being paid to a Hebrew stranger, even during the reign of the King his patron, and his being styled the son of Netpe, sufficiently disprove this opinion. Nor would the virtuous Joseph have had reason to feel flattered by a representative of so equivocal a character in the catalogue of Gods.

Ta?, Tipo?, Typho?, Typhon?, Parturition?, or rather Gestation?.

I have already observed, that there is reason to consider the Evil Being, the son of Netpe, distinct from Typho; and this last to be a female rather than a male Deity. The former, whom, in the uncertainty which still attends the reading of his name, I suppose to be called Ombte or Ambo, has evidently no office in connection with Horus †; but the figure in the accompanying Plate is represented opposed to the son of Osiris, and holds a conspicuous place in those temples and sculptures which refer to his mysterious history. She appears to be

* Chronological Inquiry, p. 45. † *Vide suprà*, p. 418.

TYPHO?

the principal personage amidst the frightful and capriciously formed figures which appear as the Evil Genii of the Egyptian mythology; and in astronomical subjects, she may be supposed to represent, as Plutarch says of Typho, the eclipses of the Sun and Moon, and the occultations of the Stars, or to preside over the birth of the Sun. Her hieroglyphics appear to read Tipo or Typho. She has the body, apparently, of a hippopotamus, or of a bear, with the head sometimes of a hippopotamus, sometimes of a crocodile, the tail of the latter, and the hands and breasts of a woman; and she frequently wears on her head the globe and horns of Athor, with two long feathers. Her hand reposes on an emblem not very unlike a pair of shears; and she sometimes rests one hand upon a crocodile's head, standing on its tail.

At the quarries of Silsilis, she is worshipped as a Deity, accompanied or followed by Thoth and a Goddess, apparently Nepte, before whom, as a triad, the Queen of Remeses the Great holds two *Sistra*. She has a human head, with the usual body of a monster standing erect on its hind legs; and I have met with the same Deity with a *human figure* and head of a hippopotamus, on a tablet, where she is the first person of a triad made up of Eilethyia and Athor. She sometimes appears to be connected with the idea of parturition, or gestation, — which may account for her being introduced with the Egyptian Lucina. Her figure in the hieroglyphic legends of Isis* and Netpe†

* *Vide* Plate 34. Hierog. No. 7. † *Vide* Plate 32. Hierog. No. 2.

appears to refer to her capacity of protectress of mothers. I have also found an instance of this Goddess with the name Isis over her, in an astronomical subject on a mummy case now in the British Museum.

The hippopotamus and the crocodile were emblems of Typho, except, perhaps, in those towns where they happened to be worshipped; as at Papremis, the city of Mars, which held the former among the animals dedicated to its protecting Deity; and at Ombos, and other places, where the crocodile was sacred. "At Hermopolis," says Plutarch *, "there is shown a statue of Typho, which is a hippopotamus with a hawk upon its back fighting with a serpent. By the hippopotamus is meant Typho; and by the hawk, the power he frequently assumes by violence, and then employs to his own annoyance and to the prejudice of others. So, again, the Cakes they offer on the 7th day of Tybi, to celebrate the return of Isis from Phœnicia, have the impression of a hippopotamus bound, stamped upon them. The solemn hunt of the crocodile in the city of Apollo, when every one is obliged to eat of its flesh, is, in like manner, established to show their abhorrence of Typho, whose emblem it is. The same feeling is the origin of their hatred of the Ass."

The connection of Typho and Mars, of both of whom the hippopotamus was said to be an emblem, is singular; and there appears to be a great analogy

* Plut. de Is. s. 50.

DEATH ?

PART 1.

PART 2.

between Hercules and other of the reputed Typhonian figures.*

In the buildings called by some Typhonia, and in many of the mysterious subjects above alluded to, she is accompanied by another figure of hideous shape, which has also been considered Typhonian. This monster forms the ornamental part of the capitals of the columns around the Mammeisi Temples, formerly called Typhonia, as at Dendera and other places.† The name of Typhonium has been improperly applied to these monuments, since they were not consecrated to Typho, but are rather connected with the mysterious rites of Harpocrates and other infant Deities, relating to their birth, or generally to the principle of regeneration. The ingenious Champollion has assigned to them the appellation of Mammeisi, the "lying in places" where the third member of the triad, worshipped in the adjoining temple, was born, and nursed by the Deities, who were supposed to perform that office in Egyptian Mythology.

Death ?, Mors ?, Besa ?.

The name of this Deity is as yet doubtful. His appearance is of a short deformed man, with a tail, a curly beard, and a head-dress of long feathers: but little is known of his office and attributes, nor have I been able to ascertain if he be the husband of Typho. The story of Nephthys being the wife of Typho, even if Typho were a God, is not au-

* *Vide* the next Deity, and Hercules. † *Vide* Plate 24. *a.* fig. 4.

thorised by the sculptures; and the origin of this notion is probably owing to Nephthys being placed in contradistinction to Isis, as the end to the beginning, and in the funereal rites being in an office opposed to that of her sister.

I have reason to believe that he represented 'Death,' in a bad sense, as the dissolution of the animal part of man, and the decay of all things, applied to animals as well as to mankind; and this will readily account for the presence of the peculiar Demonstrative sign — the hide of an animal with the tail attached to it — which always follows the legends denoting 'a beast.' He is also said to "adore his lord,"—alluding to the attitude in which he stands before Harpocrates, who in the character of renovation, or new life, might properly be adored by the God of Death. He occurs, as already stated, on the columns of the Mammeisi of Dendera and other places; and he presents the same appearance in some of the temples of Southern Ethiopia. He is found at the distant Kermesat, in Wady Kerbeeán, beyond Wady Benát; and in the sculptures of the supposed hunting palace of Wady Benát, where he is represented armed with a shield and sword, slaying the captives he grasps in his hand. Images of this Deity are also found at Thebes and other places, armed in the same manner with the emblems of War, which may argue his being *death* in the sense of *destruction*; and an instance occurs of his having the dress of a Roman soldier*; which

* *Vide* Plate 41. fig. 1. The shrine he bears on his head is remarkable. But this figure is of late date.

A SUBJECT REPRESENTING SEVERAL DEITIES.

Probably of late date.

seems to connect him with the God of War, in the same sense of the destroying power. In a papyrus of M. Reuvens, he approaches near to the figure of Hercules, whom I shall presently have occasion to notice; and we might even suppose him to be the Deity of Strength.

If he represented Death, his frequent occurrence in company with the infant Horus may readily be explained by the connection supposed to subsist between death and reproduction; and I have seen a statue which combines the attributes of both those Gods, under the form of a youth with the lock of Childhood descending from his head, and the beard and unseemly features of this aged monster.* Sometimes, and indeed more generally, the head of the latter is placed over that of the youthful Deity, who, holding in one hand two snakes with a scorpion and capricorn, in the other similar snakes with a lion and scorpion, stands upon two crocodiles, and is surrounded by the emblems and figures of different Gods. Though most of these are well known, I do not pretend to offer an explanation of the whole subject†, which appears to bear an astrological as well as a mythological sense.‡ The three principal figures — the crocodile, the young Horus, and the monster head — may signify darkness §, the origin of all things, existence or production, and death. They may also explain an

* *Vide* Plate 24. *a*. fig. 3. † *Vide* Plate 43. *a*.

‡ *Vide* Macrob. Saturn. i. 26. Clemens (Strom. 5.) says, "The Egyptians sometimes represent the Sun in a boat, sometimes on a crocodile."

§ *Vide suprà*, 274.; and *infrà*, on Χημι; and Horapollo, i. 69, 70.

apparent resemblance between this Deity and a representation of Pthah the creative power.* These groups are, I believe, of late date — of Ptolemaïc or Roman time; and it is generally observable, that similarly complicated subjects are of a period when the religion of Egypt was overgrown with fanciful speculation, which the simplicity of earlier sculptures had not adopted.

May this Deity have been Besa, whose oracle is placed by ancient writers in the vicinity of Abydus or of Antinoë? His name in some of the hieroglyphic legends resembles that of the unknown Besa; and if his character appears little likely to justify the notion of his possessing an oracle, it will cease to present an objection, when we recollect that, in Greece, even the monster Geryon, slain by Hercules, was deemed worthy of a similar honour. Professor Reuvens† gives an invocation to Typhon Seth, "who destroys and renders desert, and is surnamed 'he who agitates, and is *invincible;*'" which seems to suit the character of this destroying Deity, and to account for his presumed connection with Typho. The fact of his being thus invoked corresponds with his ambiguous title and appearance; and the learned Professor's‡ opinion, that he was derived from Pthah, (or from Cneph,) is sufficiently plausible. But I should exclude the name of Cneph, and for Pthah should substitute that of the pigmy Pthah-Sokari-Osiris, to which I have already al-

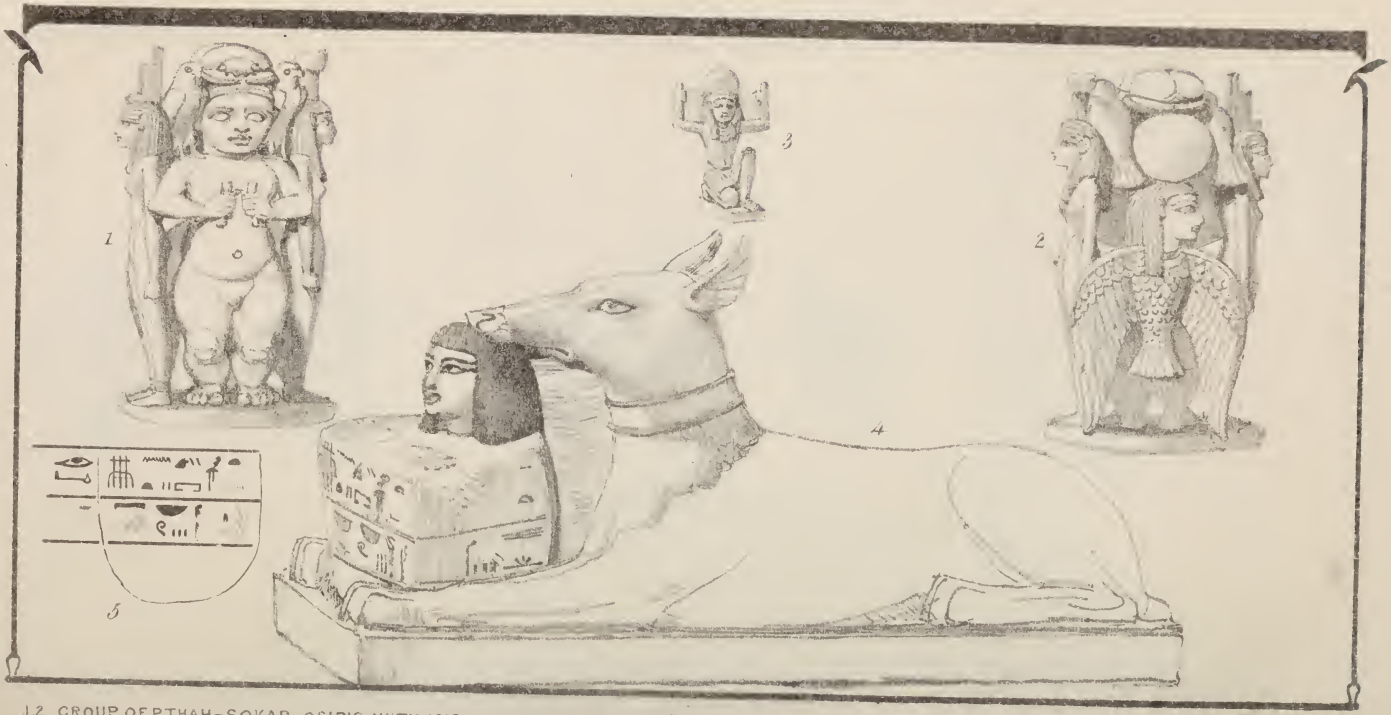
* *Vide* Plate 24. *a*. fig. 2., and Pl 43. figs. 1. 2.
† Reuvens, lettre i. p. 39. ‡ Lettre iii. p. 78, 79.

APHOPHIS.

Fig. 1. *Fig. 2.*

ANEPO, ANUBIS

MACEDO?



1.2. GROUP OF PTHAH-SOKAR-OSIRIS WITH ISIS & NEPTHYS & ATHOR?
3. PERHAPS THE GOD OF THE SOLAR DISC.—1: 2 & 3. ARE OF EARTHENWARE,—4. OF STONE.
4. SINGULAR INSTANCE OF A DOG WITH THE FIGURE OF A DECEASED PERSON BETWEEN ITS PAWS—FOUND BY ME IN A TOMB AT THEBES

luded. This also calls to mind the connection between the operation of the creator and of the destroying power.

Aphôphis, The Serpent.

Having mentioned the bad principle, and shown the distinction between Typho and the son of Netpe, it may not be out of place to introduce another character of the Evil Being; in which we cannot fail to recognise the Serpent the enemy of mankind, and from which the Pytho of Greek mythology was evidently derived.

Aphôphis, or Apôp, which in Egyptian signifies a "*giant*," was the name given to the Serpent of which Horus is represented as the Destroyer. From this, the Greeks borrowed the story of Apollo's destruction of the Serpent Pytho; as from the name Aphôphis, the wars between the Giants, or Titans, and the Gods. "For," as Plutarch observes*, "those wars, which are so much spoken of by the Greeks, the detestable actions of Saturn, and the combats between Apollo and Pytho, the flights of Bacchus, and the wanderings of Ceres, are of the same nature as the adventures of Osiris and Typho."

In another place†, he speaks of "Apopis as a prince, who was brother to the Sun, and made war upon Jupiter, by whom he was defeated through the assistance of Osiris," which tends to the same point; and it is remarkable that the

* Plut. de Is. s. 25.

† Plut. de Is. s. 36.

combat of the Gods and Giants occurs under various forms in many religions. With regard to the name Aphôphis given to the Evil Being as a serpent, some may be disposed to trace in it the word Hof, Hfo, in Coptic a "snake:" but this does not appear to be the origin of the name of Aphôphis; which is evidently the Coptic Aphoph, the "Giant," as I have already stated.

The destruction of the Serpent by Horus, who, standing in a boat, pierces his head with a spear, as he rises above the water, frequently occurs in the sculptures; and whether it has the body of a snake with the head of a man, or assumes the entire human form, it appears to be the same monster. The representation of Typho, mentioned by Plutarch, at Hermopolis*, evidently refers to this conflict of Horus and Aphôphis.

I will not decide whether the Serpent Aphôphis has any relation to "the snake, which, when Thueris, the concubine of Typho, deserted to Horus, was killed by his soldiers" as it pursued her; "an event," says Plutarch†, "still commemorated by the ceremony of throwing a rope into the midst of their assemblies, and then chopping it in pieces."

Nepthys, Nephthys, Neb-thy, The End.

Nephthys, the sister of Isis, and youngest daughter of Netpe, was supposed by the Greeks to have been the wife of Typho; but, as I have already

* *Vide suprà*, p. 430.

† Plut. de Is. s. 19.

observed, this notion probably arose from her being placed in opposition to Isis, particularly in funereal subjects, where Isis stands at the head and Nephthys at the feet of the deceased. She represented the end, as Isis the beginning, of all things; but she was not opposed to her sister in a bad sense, as Typho to Osiris. In the regions of Amenti, a triad was composed of Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys; and another consisted of Isis, Nephthys, and Harpocrates.*

In the fabulous history of Osiris†, she may have been considered as the sea-shore, and the confines of Egypt, from being opposed to Isis, who was that part of the land irrigated by the inundation of the Nile; without the idea of her possessing the injurious nature which was attached to Typho. Even in this character, her inferiority might be of a negative kind, not that of a positive agent of evil, being merely the representative of a barren soil, whose unproductiveness was owing to its not having received the fertilising influence of the inundation. Like Isis in her mysterious character, Nephthys was principally employed in offices connected with the dead; and she is represented assisting her sister to perform the last rites to Osiris, when he quitted the Earth to assume his duties in Amenti as judge of the dead. She is, therefore, appropriately styled "rectrix of the lower regions."‡ Her name, written Nêb-thy, or Nêb-têi, signifying

* *Vide suprà*, p. 408.; and *infrà*, p. 439.
† Plut. de Is. s. 38. ‡ Plate 35. Part 2.

"the lady of the abode," consists of a bowl or basket, called *nêb*, placed upon a house, answering to *ei* or *têi*. These she wears upon her head; as Isis has the throne, her hieroglyphic emblem.

She is frequently styled the Sister Goddess, referring to her relationship to Isis and Osiris; and I have met with an instance of her being called "Nephthys, the Saviour Sister Goddess, Anóuké."* This connects her with Anóuké the Egyptian Vesta, and accords with the Greek notion of Vesta being the daughter of Saturn and Rhea, who answered to the Seb and Netpe of the Egyptian Pantheon. In another hieroglyphic inscription over a door at Dakkeh, the Ethiopian King Ergamun is said to be "a son of Osiris, born of Isis, and nursed by Nephthys;" and the two triads, of which she was a member, frequently occur in the Egyptian tombs. She is sometimes called "a daughter of the Sun†," though Plutarch‡ supposes her begotten by Saturn; and the same author gives to her the names of Teleute (or the end), Aphrodite, and Niké. He considers her§, in one of her characters, "the lower and invisible, as Isis was the upper and visible, parts of the world;" and he says‖, that "the Sistrum having the face of Isis on one side and of Nephthys on the other, symbolically represents generation and corruption." This idea, like that previously expressed respecting the contradistinction of Isis and her sister, did not convey the im-

* Plate 35. Part 2.
† Plate 35. Part 2.
‡ Plut. de Is. s. 12.
§ Plut. de Is. s. 44.
‖ Plut. de Is. s. 63.

pression of a malevolent Deity; corruption or the termination of life not being looked upon as annihilation, as I have already had occasion to observe.* All persons, therefore, who died, were thought to pass, through the influence of Nephthys, into a future state; and the presence of Netpe on the coffins of the dead also purported that, being born again and assuming the title of Osiris, each individual had become the son of Netpe, even as the great Ruler of Amenti, to whose name he was entitled when admitted to the mansions of the blessed. But though Nephthys was the "End," she was distinct from "*Death*," whom I have mentioned as a separate Deity.†

I have once met with an instance of Nephthys with the adjunct Sothis, connecting her with the Dog-star. This is perhaps an assumption of the attributes of her sister, or may refer to that star at the *end* instead of the *beginning* of the year, from which its heliacal rising was usually calculated: but, being of rare occurrence, it is not important, nor does it suffice to connect the Dog-star with the sister of Isis. According to Hesychius, "the Egyptians worshipped a Goddess, whom the Greeks called Αφροδιτη Σκοτια, 'the dark or nocturnal Venus,' whom Prichard supposes to be Nephthys‡;" but this rather applies to the Egyptian Athor.

* *Vide suprà*, p. 315. 407, 408.

† *Vide suprà*, p. 432., on the God *Mors*, who was himself distinct from *Funus*, *infrà*, p. 442.

‡ Prichard, p. 146.

Anubis, Anepo, Mercurius Psychopompos, Death (Funus).

The jackal-headed God was one of the principal Deities of Amenti. He was "son of Osiris*," not by Nephthys, as Greek writers state, but, according to the positive authority of the hieroglyphics, "by Isis," as is shown in a legend given by Mr. Salt, from a mummy case in his possession, where "Anubis" is called "the son of Isis." This suffices to disprove the opinion of Plutarch† respecting Nephthys; though the same author allows that "Isis was also reputed his mother, though born of Nephthys."‡ Another notion, which assigns to Anubis the head of a dog instead of a jackal, is one of the greatest and most generally accredited errors which the ignorance of the Greeks and Romans have set forth respecting the Gods of Egypt; and every writer, whether in poetry or prose, who has mentioned this Deity, has described him with the head of a dog. Even altars were erected to him under this form by his votaries at Rome; and so universal was the belief in the canine character of the "*latrator Anubis*§," that the fabulous history of Osiris was perverted in order to accord with this established notion.

The unquestionable authority, however, of the Egyptian sculptures, has corrected this misconception, and we there find that he was not only represented with the head of a jackal, but also

* Plate 44. fig. 3.
† Plut. de Is. s. 14. 38.
‡ Plut. de Is. s. 44.
§ Conf. Propert. lib. iii. Eleg. xi. 41.
"Ausa Jovi nostro latrantem opponere Anubin."

under the form of the entire animal. And lest scepticism and the force of long received opinion should still retain a doubt, or suppose this jackal to be intended for a peculiar species of dog, it may not be irrelevant to remark, that the same jackal is introduced at Beni Hassan with the wolf and *other wild* animals of Egypt, and that the dogs are never figured in the paintings of a form which could justify a similar conclusion.

According to the explanation given by Plutarch * of the history of Osiris from the phænomena of the heavens, Anubis was supposed, in one of his characters, "to represent the horizontal circle, which divides the invisible part of the world, called by the Egyptians Nephthys, from the visible, which they term Isis. In short, Anubis seems to be of the same power and nature as the Grecian Hecate, a Deity common both to the celestial and infernal regions." This last, however, I have shown † to apply to Isis rather than to Anubis. "Others," he adds, "are of opinion, that by Anubis is meant *Time*, which begets all things out of itself; but this is one of the secret doctrines known only to those who are initiated into his worship..... The universal reason, moreover, is called by them Anubis ‡, and sometimes Hermanubis; the first of these names expressing the relation it has to the superior, as the latter to the inferior, world."

The office of Anubis was to superintend the passage of the souls from this life to a future state,

* Plut. de Is. s. 44.
‡ Plut. de Is. s. 61.
† *Vide suprà*, p. 369.

in which he answered to the Mercury of the Greeks in his capacity of Psychopompos, or "usher of souls."* He presided over tombs, and at the final judgment he weighed the good actions of the deceased in the scales of truth, and was thence styled "director of the weight." He is frequently introduced in the sculptures, standing over a bier on which a corpse is deposited. He seems to superintend the departure of the soul from its earthly envelope, which is indicated by a small bird with a human head and hands, holding the sign of life and a sail, the symbol of transmigration, or of its flight from the body.† This bird is probably the Baeith of Horapollo, which signifies "life and soul;" and from it may have been derived in later times the complicated figures of the Abraxas. In the group represented in the Plate, it will be observed that the mummy has the beard of a God, or of one deified under the form of Osiris; and the soul has one of a person not yet entered into those regions of eternity, to which it is about to take its flight.

Anubis may be considered to answer to "*Death*," in a good sense, as the departure of the soul from the body, on its way to a better state, and applied only to mankind; Death in another sense, as the decease of the animal portion of man, being figured by the Egyptians under a different form, as I have already shown.‡ It is probably from this his

* Conf. Hom. Odyss. xiv. 1., and Hor. Od. I. ix. 17.

"Tu pias lætis animas reponis
Sedibus, virgâque levem coërces
Aureâ turbam, superis Deorum
Gratus et imis."

† *Vide* Plate 44. fig. 3. ‡ *Suprà*, p. 432.

character, that Plutarch was led to the notion of Anubis being "*time*," the "*tempus edax rerum*."

Apuleius * calls "Anubis the interpreter of the Gods of heaven and of Hades, sometimes with a black, at others with a golden face, . . . holding in his left hand a caduceus, and in his right shaking a palm branch." But in this description we discover the union of Anubis and Thoth, both of whom bear analogy and correspond to the Mercury of Greece. The office of interpreter in heaven and in Hades applies to Thoth. Anubis and Thoth were both Deities of Hades, and the former had sometimes a black, sometimes a golden face; but the palm branch belonged to Thoth, and the caduceus to neither of them. And if Greek and Roman bas reliefs give to Anubis a character according with the description of Apuleius, they are at direct variance with the sculptures, and show that they are not taken from Egyptian authority of an ancient date.

I have once met with an instance of Anubis with the head of a ram in lieu of the jackal; on which occasion he had assumed the attributes of Neph.

Diodorus† relates, that Anubis accompanied Osiris in his Eastern expedition, together with Pan and Macedo, who were his generals. Mercury (Thoth) held the office of counsellor to the Queen Isis, Hercules was viceroy during his absence, Busiris governor of the provinces on the sea-coast towards Phœnicia, and Antæus of those bordering on Ethiopia and Libya. Anubis and Macedo, according to Diodorus, were sons of Osiris; and the latter is

* Apul. Metam. 11. † Diodor. i. 17.

described by him dressed in the skin of a wolf, as Anubis in that of a dog. Of Macedo, I have been unable to ascertain any thing from the sculptures; though it is possible that he may also have the form of a jackal-headed Deity similar to Anubis, with the horns and other devices as his hieroglyphic; and it is not impossible that these horns may in some way refer to the idea of punishment which Horapollo* tells us was denoted by a cow's horn.

Having now mentioned the different members of the family of Seb and Netpe, who are Osiris, Aroeris, the Evil Being, Isis, and Nephthys, with their children Horus, Harpocrates, Anubis, and Macedo, and in connection with them Typho and the Serpent Aphôphis, I proceed to notice the remaining Deities of the Pantheon, which will form a second part of this chapter. I shall not stop to inquire respecting their rank or right to priority; nor shall I distinguish between those of the second and third order, the former of whom are limited by Herodotus to the number of twelve. And if any preference is shown in their arrangement, it is solely in consequence of their being of more frequent occurrence, or represented on older monuments.

* Horapollo, Hierog. ii. 17. *Vide* Plate 44. Part 2.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME
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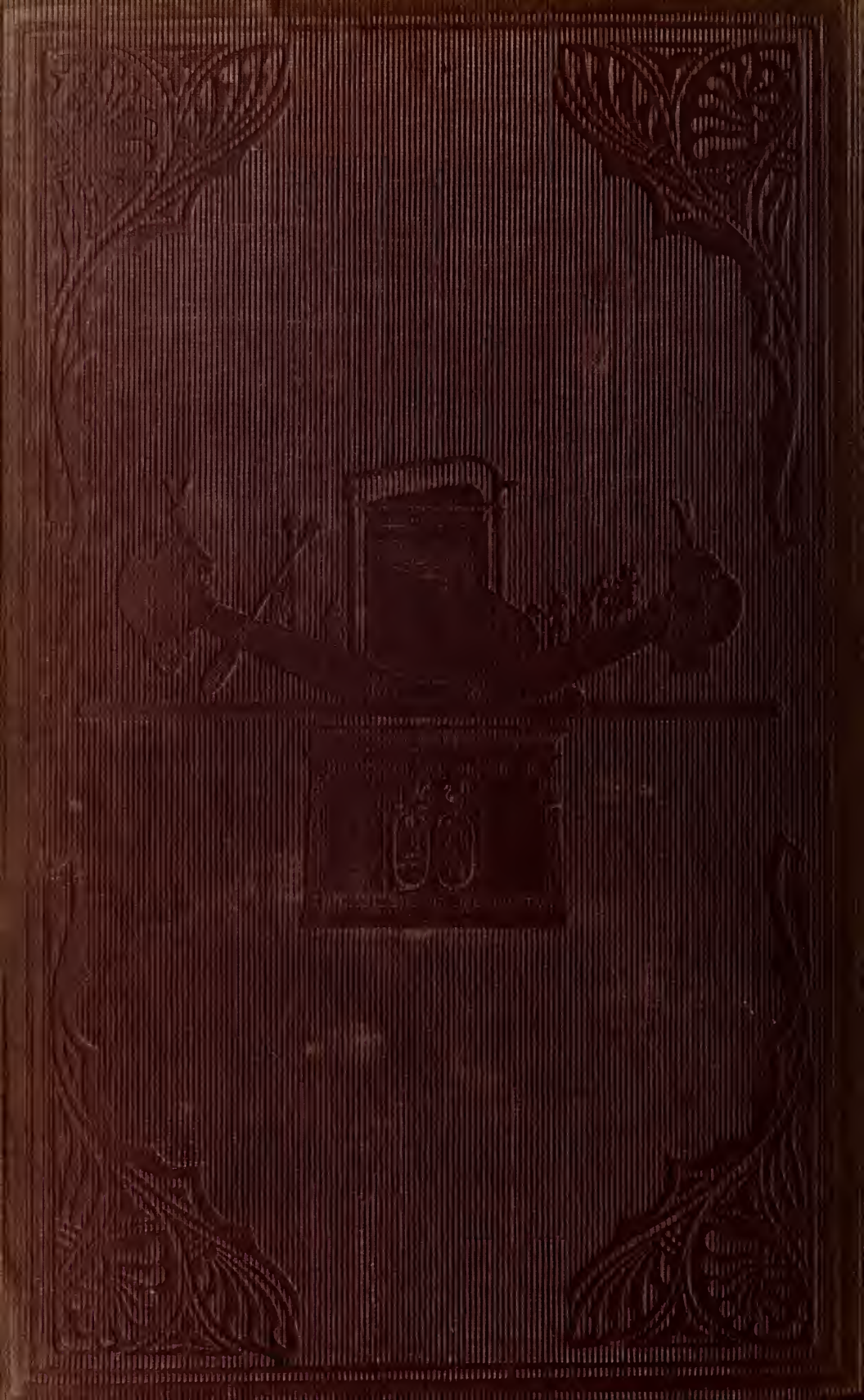
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